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Vol. II, No. 1

JULY, 1903.

Whole No. 7.

THE
GULF STATES HISTORICAL
MAGAZINE.

JOEL C. D. BOSE, Editor and Proprietor.

THE
BI-MONTHLY
GULF STATES HISTORICAL

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Montgomery, Ala., under Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

JOEL C. DUBOSE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

J. C. DEBOS, Editor and Proprietor

BI-MONTHLY

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THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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SCOPE AND OBJECTS.

This Magazine is devoted particularly to the exploitation of the history, literature and antiquities of the Gulf States and their neighbors. It will aim to cultivate among all classes of its readers the taste for historical reading and the desire for historical knowledge. It will contain:

Carefully prepared historical papers,	Historical News.
Hitherto unpublished documents,	Notes and Queries,
Genealogies and genealogical notes,	Book Notes and Reviews,
Short articles on Minor Topics,	Pertinent Illustrations.

Contributions within the scope of the foregoing will be welcomed.

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CONTRIBUTORS.

Many leading historical students and writers of the Gulf States and other sections will contribute articles to the Magazine. Some of these are:

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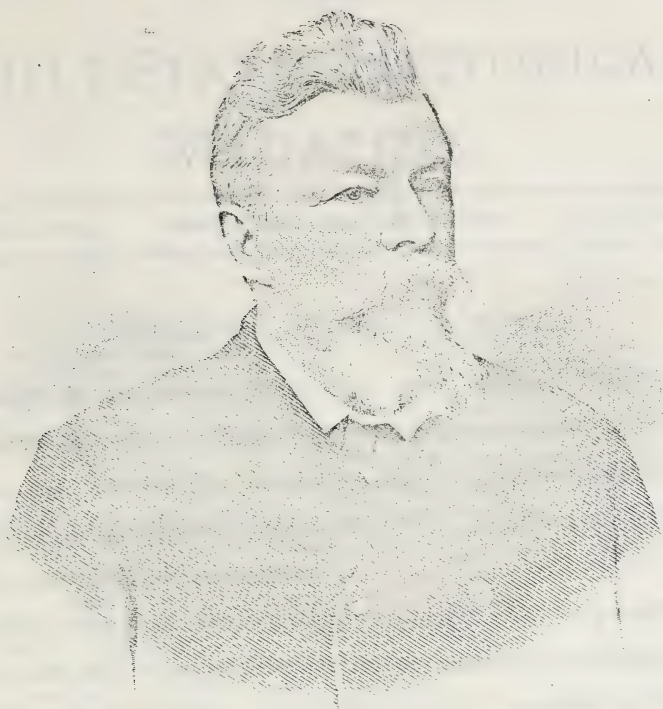
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JOEL C. DuBOSE, Montgomery, Ala.



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Joseph Jones. Esq

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. II, No. 1.

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Whole No. 7

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

With the appearance of the May, 1903, issue of THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which completed its first volume, Mr. Thomas M. Owen disposed of his entire interest in the publication to his associate, Mr. Joel C. DuBose, and retired from the editorial management.

Mr. Owen was forced to this step because of the growth of his work and duties as Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. He wishes thanks extended to those who have generously assisted him, and asks the same cordial coöperation for his successor. He will still labor for the success of the Magazine and will contribute to its pages.

This Magazine has demonstrated its right to a place in the periodical literature of the day, and has met the commendation of scholars, critics and the press. It should be a matter of congratulation to those interested in history that it will not suspend publication. It will be continued by Mr. DuBose as editor and proprietor.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH JONES, M.D., LL.D., LATE OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY CHARLES EDGEWORTH JONES, of Augusta, Ga.

In the distinguished subject of the present sketch, we recognize a man of mark in the medical and scientific world, one whose achievements as an original investigator challenged the respect and esteem of co-workers in the several departments claiming his industry and abilities. He was a profound scholar, a skilled professor, a notable chemist, an indefatigable laborer, and a practitioner who devoted more than forty years of his life to the alleviation of human sufferings.

He was born in Liberty county, Georgia, September 6, 1833. His father, the Rev. Charles C. Jones, D. D., was a distinguished Presbyterian divine, eloquent in the pulpit, eminent as a theological instructor, and the author of a *History of the Church of God*. His maternal grandfather, Captain Joseph Jones, of the Liberty Independent Troop, served in the war of 1812. His great grand-father on the paternal side, Major John Jones, was an officer in the Continental Army, who, as aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, fell before the British lines around Savannah during the memorable assault in October 1779. He was connected with the Pinckneys, Haynes, Swintons, and Legarés, of the Palmetto State. His ancestors in the male line removed from England to Charleston, South Carolina, more than two centuries ago.

Professor Joseph Jones reflected in his person and accomplishments the dignity of an old and honored family. His early education was, in the main, acquired through the aid of private tutors at the parental homes, Montevideo and Maybank plantations, in Liberty county, Georgia. In 1847, when he was fourteen years of age, he repaired to South Carolina College, at Columbia. Having completed the freshman and a part of the sophomore studies in this institution, he matriculated at Nassau Hall, Princeton College, New Jersey, in the sophomore class of 1850. There he spent three profitable years, and, graduating with distinction, he received his A. B. diploma from that college in June, 1853.

Selecting medicine as his profession, Professor Jones subsequently entered the medical department of the University of

Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, where he addressed himself with all diligence to a preparation for his important life-work. His record while a student was commendable, and his progress rapid. Shortly after the award of his doctorate, which occurred in 1855, in recognition of the high order of his attainments, he was elevated to a Professorship of Chemistry in the Medical College of Savannah, Georgia. This appointment dated from 1856; and from that time until his lamented death, a few years ago, he was, under various auspices, continuously identified with the office of medical instructor. In 1858 he became Professor of Chemistry and Geology in the State University at Athens, and, in the following year, was called to the chair of Chemistry in the Medical College of Georgia, at Augusta. This position he retained during the period covered by the war between the States, faithfully and energetically performing the duties incident to it, except when interrupted by active engagements in the field. In 1866 he was tendered the Professorship of Institutes of Medicine in the University of Nashville, Tennessee. Responding to the call, he repaired to the city, and at once became identified with the interests of this progressive institution. His connection with that university was only terminated when he removed to New Orleans, Louisiana, in the fall of 1868. It was then that his distinguished labors in behalf of the Medical Department of the University of Louisiana, now Tulane University, began. For a space of nearly thirty years were his active ministrations in this important regard uninterruptedly continued.

Professor Jones's appointment as visiting physician to the Charity Hospital of New Orleans was contemporaneous with his arrival in that metropolis. His long and valued services in this responsible capacity were beneficial alike to the State of Louisiana and to the cause of medical science.

Numerous were the honorable and influential positions which Professor Jones at different periods occupied. He was the chemist of the Cotton Planters' Convention of Georgia in 1860, and the compiler and author of the first report submitted to that body touching the agricultural resources of the "Empire State of the South." When the Southern Historical Society was founded in New Orleans, in May, 1869, he became its first secretary. He was the framer of its original constitution, and an intense friend of the movement which gave it birth, and was energetic in the consummation of its patriotic purposes. For two years or more, he continued a zealous participant in the labors of this Society. To his individual efforts the sustentation

of its vitality in the infant stage of its history was, to a large extent, due. The organization was subsequently (about 1873) transferred to Richmond, Virginia, its present place of abode. The officers of the Southern Historical Society, as first formed in New Orleans, were the late Rev. B. M. Palmer, D.D., President; General Braxton Bragg, Vice-President; and Professor Joseph Jones, who discharged the duties of Secretary and Treasurer.

In April, 1880, Professor Jones was complimented with the Presidency of the Board of Health of the State of Louisiana. The board had been organized in accordance with the provisions of the State Constitution of the preceding year. His appointment was by the Governor, and his term of service expired in April, 1884. The four years constituting his tenure of this responsible position were replete with important results. His administration of the affairs of the Board was characterized by ability, fidelity, and enlightened industry. His official conduct merited the approbation of the public, and should challenge the emulation of all succeeding presidents.

In April, 1887, Professor Jones was elected President of the Louisiana State Medical Society, and held the office for one year. His annual address before the Society, in the spring of 1888, is embodied in the second part of the third volume of his *Medical and Surgical Memoirs*. He bore a prominent part in the deliberations of the ninth International Medical Congress, which convened in Washington City in the summer of 1887. On that interesting occasion, he acted in the capacity of President of the Fifteenth Section, being that of Public and International Hygiene. One of his last appointments was as Surgeon-General of the United Confederate Veterans. The first official selected for that important trust after the formation of this patriotic order, he was assigned to his duties in 1890; and he was acceptably filling the position when death ended his useful career.

Alluding to his war-time experiences, we record the fact that Professor Jones was commissioned as full surgeon in the Confederate army in 1862. His duties as such ceased only with the termination of hostilities in 1865. For some months prior to the receipt of his commission, he had regularly discharged the functions of the office, to which he was afterwards promoted. As early as January, 1861, he volunteered in the *Liberty Independent Troop*, and entered upon active service in October of the same year. During his connection with this cavalry troop, he acted as surgeon to several kindred organizations doing duty on the Georgia coast.

Professor Jones was a member of leading medical and scientific societies, both in this country and in Europe. His chief claims to distinguished recognition rest upon his reputation as an authoritative and exhaustive writer.

Pretermittin several minor publications, his first noteworthy production was *Investigations, Chemical and Physiological, relative to certain American vertebrata*. It was comprised in the eighth volume of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, and appeared in 1856. The inquiries forming the subject matter of this monograph, which met with a cordial reception, were commenced while the Professor was still a lad. In the same year, (1856) his *Physical, Chemical and Physiological Investigations upon the vital Phenomena, and offices of Solids and Fluids of Animals* (an inaugural dissertation for the degree of M. D.,) was given to the public. This was followed by his *Observations on Malarial Fever*, which filled a space in the *South-eastern Medical and Surgical Journal* of Augusta, Georgia, for 1858 and 1859; and by his *Observation on some of the Physical, Chemical, Physiological and Pathological Phenomena of Malarial Fever*. These latter *Observations* were incorporated in Volume XII of the *Transactions of the American Medical Association*, and were published in Philadelphia in 1859. Subsequently appeared his *Suggestions on Medical Education* (Augusta, Georgia, 1860); *First Report to the Cotton Planters' Convention of Georgia on the Agricultural Resources of Georgia*, (Augusta, Ga., 1860); *Investigations into the Diseases of the Federal Prisoners Confined in Camp Sumter, Andersonville, Ga.*, (New York, 1866)*; *Investigations into the Nature, Causes and Abatement of Hospital Gangrene, as it prevailed in the Confederate Army* (New York, 1866); *Researches upon Spurious Vaccination in the Confederate Army* (Nashville, 1867); *Sanitary Memoirs of the War of the Rebellion* (New York, 1866-6868); *Mollites Ossium* (Philadelphia, 1869); *Observations and Researches on Albinism in the Negro Race* (Philadelphia, 1869); *Outline of Observations on Hospital Gangrene in the Confederate Armies* (New Orleans, 1869); *Surgical Memoirs of the War of the Rebellion* (New York, 1871); *Observations upon the Treatment of Yellow Fever* (Louisville, Ky., 1873); *General Conclusions as to the Nature of Yellow Fever* (New York, 1873); *Hospital Construction and Ograni-*

*Prior to the publication of these *Investigations* by the United States Sanitary Commission in their *Surgical Memoirs*, they had been printed under the auspices of the United States Government during the trial of Henry Wirz in 1865-'66.

zation (Baltimore, 1875); and *Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains of Tennessee* which was published in the Smithsonian Institution in 1876.

The last named production represents the author's principal contribution to the Science of Archaeology. Articles and pamphlets discussing the modes of burial, burial-caves, earth-works, mounds and relics of the Southern Indians have likewise been furnished by his pen. Several of these have appeared under the auspices of the Institution to which we have just referred.

The year 1876 was notable in the scientifico-literary career of Professor Jones. It marked the publication of the first volume of his *Medical and Surgical Memoirs*, containing investigations on the geographical distribution, causes, nature, relations and treatment of various diseases, and embodying results to the attainment of which more than twenty years had been devoted; this initial octavo work is well worthy of companionship with the volumes whereto the attention of the medical profession has since been invited. As in the first volume a large space is given to the study of the diseases of the nervous system, so in the second volume, which was issued in 1887, malarial fevers in all their phases receive exhaustive and discriminating consideration. The concluding volume of these *Memoirs*, which dates its appearance in 1890, consists of two parts, the first being mainly a review of the endemic, epidemic, contagious and infectious diseases. In that part is likewise comprised a complete and satisfactory account of the quarantine and sanitary operations of the Louisiana State Board of Health during the presidency of the distinguished author*. In the second part of the volume we are introduced to Professor Jones's latter day labors and researches, as recorded in a series of monographs, among which his *Philosophical Principles of Education, and their Scientific Application to the Development and Perfection of Medical Science*, takes foremost rank. As presiding officer of the Medical Society of Louisiana, he delivered this address in the spring of 1888. Other matters of interest and value to scientists and members of his profession are the papers treating of the *Relation of Quarantine to Commerce in the Valley of the Mississippi River*, *Public and International Hygiene*, and *the Progress of the Discovery of Disinfectants, and their Application for the Arrest of Contagion*.

*In this connection see also his *Annual Reports of the Board of Health, State of Louisiana*, 1880-'84, which was first published in Baton Rouge in 1884.

So much for a hurried glance at the general scope and contents of these *Medical and Surgical Memoirs*. In them Professor Jones, profiting by a long and varied experience as practitioner in the several branches of medicine, and relying upon the resources of a mind replete with wisdom, enriched by reflection, and active in the pursuit of truth, has raised in honor of the medical profession a memorial which dignifies its accomplished maker, and will always commend itself to enlightened posterity.

Professor Jones's life was devoted to the scientific investigation of the causes and means for the prevention of diseases in the daily round of private practice, in the civil and military hospitals, in the camp and prison, and on the battlefield. During the war between the States he not only ministered to the treatment of the sick and wounded, but he likewise thoroughly examined into the nature and conditions of measles, small pox, hospital gangrene, pyaemia and malarial fever,—maladies so prevalent and so fatal among Confederate soldiers. By careful study, moreover, he penetrated the causes of the great mortality amongst military prisoners and suggested measures for their relief. The importance of his labors and the value of his services were fully recognized by the Confederate Government, by which every facility was afforded for the prosecution of his inquiries. His observations and researches upon these matters have been printed, and form a unique chapter in the medical history of that eventful period.

During his presidency of the Louisiana State Board of Health, the quarantine and sanitary measures instituted and perfected by Professor Jones were effectual in excluding yellow fever from the valley of the Mississippi. When we consider the odds against which he was forced to contend, and the nature of the difficulties by which he was confronted, we cannot fail to be impressed with the magnitude of his final triumph. On the one hand the yellow fever raged now at the Mississippi Quarantine Station, then at Brownsville and Pensacola, again at the Naval Reservation at Brewton, and always in Vera Cruz, Havana and Rio de Janeiro; on the other, the gigantic maritime and railroad corporations, secure in their wealth and influence, attempted to crush him and to impugn the legality of the principles whereof he was the indomitable champion. But in the end he proved himself the victor. Yellow fever was met and thwarted at all points, and the Mississippi valley remained untainted by the pestilence. The quarantine laws of Louisiana were sustained, and their constitutionality was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Professor Jones was twice married. On the 26th of October, 1859, he was united to Miss Caroline S. Davis, of Augusta, Ga. His marriage to Miss Susan Rayner Polk, a daughter of the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., Bishop of Louisiana, and Lieutenant-General in the armies of the Southern Confederacy, occurred on the 15th of June, 1870. In the same year he went abroad, visiting England, France and Wales, and making a careful tour through the hospitals and museums of those countries. The cordial reception tendered him by Professor Richard Owen, late Director of Natural History in the British Museum, and the friendly courtesies shown by other eminent scientists, were gratifying. Special opportunities for observation were afforded, and the ends with a view to which the journey had been undertaken were fully answered.

That Professor Jones was an earnest student of American Archaeology sufficiently appears from the fact that he was the author of *Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains of Tennessee*. To his reputation as a writer on Archaeological matters, he united the distinction of being an extensive collector. His collection, which now finds temporary lodgement in the Sophia Newcomb College—an integral part of Tulane University,—comprises a valuable assortment of primitive relics. His specimens from Mexico, Central America, and Peru are exceptionally fine. Among the interesting features of that valuable collection which comprehends many thousand objects, may be mentioned the beautiful Indian bead-work, the idols, the specimens of Zuni and Pima pottery.

Professor Jones's brother, the late Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr.,* of Augusta, Ga., the historian of that State, was likewise a familiar figure in the Antiquarian world, and the possessor of notable Archaeological collections. His *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgian Tribes*, which was published in New York by D. Appleton & Co., in 1873, enjoys high repute on this continent and in Europe, and is generally regarded as the standard work upon the subject treated.

In the midst of his many sided usefulness as a physician, professor, scientist and author, Professor Jones died on the night of February 17, 1896. A panorama of varied and never ceasing activity, his life may rightfully be adduced as a fit object for the emulation of posterity. His important labors in the cause of medical education, and in behalf of sanitary science, are national in their character.

*See *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, March, 1903, pp. 301-310, for Life of Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr.

SIDNEY LANIER.

BY CLIFFORD LANIER, of Montgomery, Ala.

Since Sidney Lanier has been accepted by many competent judges as one worthy to be enrolled in a palace of the deathless, I put aside the suggestion of indelicacy which might be hinted at by some unsympathetic reader, and I proceed with simplicity, with frankness and yet with becoming caution to perform the pleasing task of contributing this paper.

Indeed this may be a biographical and narrative rather than a critical task.

If I needed admonition, the words of our author would be recalled wherein he shows how often contemporary judgments have been at fault and criticism has shot very wide of the mark.

Sidney Lanier paid scant heed to criticism of the day. Even at the beginning of his brief literary life when the premature publication of the text of the Centennial Cantata in May, 1876, was followed by what he and many competent critics deemed not only an inadequate and unsympathetic criticism, but an unjust and incompetent disapproval, his natural resentment took the form of an effort to inform the public of certain artistic aims and theories as to the lyric union of words and tones meant for orchestral rendition, rather than a self defense. His rejoinder concerned itself with the interesting question, "What changes have been made in the relations of poetry to music by the prodigious modern development of the orchestra?" It was then comparatively a novel inquiry as to what purely intellectual conceptions are capable of orchestral interpretation aided by a vocal chorus, leaving wholly aside, of course, the province of emotional expansion, in which he believed the "power of music to be supreme and unlimited."

In a letter to his father the young poet says: "My experience in the varying judgments given about poetry. . . . has all converged upon one solitary principle, and the experience of the artist in all ages is reported by history to be of precisely the same direction. That principle is, that the artist shall put forth, humbly and lovingly and without bitterness against opposition, the very best and highest that is within him, utterly regardless of contemporary criticism."

But see how he appreciated praise! He calls it encourage-

ment. In a letter to Mr. Gibson Peacock, June 16, 1875, he writes, "Out of what a liberal sky do you rain your gracious encouragements upon me! In truth, dear friend, there is such large sweep and swing in this shower-after-shower of your friendship, it comes in such big rhythms of generousities, it is such a poem of inner rains, that I cannot at all get myself satisfied to meet it with anything less than that perfect rose of a song which *should* be the product of such watering. I think I hear one of these growing now down in my soul yonder. .etc."

Sincere judgments, whether favorable or unfavorable, he received thankfully.

Thomas Lanier, an ancestor in right line of Sidney, came to America in 1716, and settled on the present site of Richmond, Virginia.

It is written in some records that *one* Thomas Lanier married Elizabeth Washington, daughter of John Washington and Catherine Whiting. This is copied from the authority of George Washington Parke Custis. In what manner were thus mingled the life-currents of this French-English family with those running in the veins of the "Father of his Country," persons interested may strive to find. It is growing more and more to be a matter of pride to trace connection with the distinguished as the land makes history, and the poet takes pleasure in learning that a "Sir John Lanier," is spoken of as commanding the Queen's regiment of horse at the battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. He also pleased his relative, Mr. J. F. D. Lanier, of N. Y., prominent in the history of Indiana and American financial transactions, by writing out some account of the "*Laneares*," who figured in the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, ten of them flourishing between 1568 and 1666. One of them was a friend of Pepys, others were painters, musicians, and writers of masques, the artistic tendency being marked. The Sir John who helped King William in Ireland fell gloriously at Steinkirk.

Sidney Lanier was born on High street, in Macon, Ga., February 3, 1842, and was the oldest of three children of Robert Sampson Lanier and Mary J. Anderson. His father was a native of Georgia, and his mother of Virginia.

The public school was then largely unknown in the South, and our subject was schooled in small private one-roomed establishments, taught by a Mrs. Anderson, a Mr. Hancock, or by that dear old eccentric *Dominie*, "Jake" Danforth. One of these schools stood in a grove of oaks and hickory-nut trees, and was called the 'Cademy. Sidney was bright in studies, but while

parsing, reading, writing and figuring, he was also chunking nuts from the top of the tall trees, sympathizing with the dainty half-angel, half-animal flying squirrels, and drinking deep draughts of love of nature from the fountains of cool, solacing oaks. He learned to enter into the being of tree-nature as few poetic thinkers have done, in a measure just as, yet in a different way than, Wordsworth, Keats and Tennyson did. Added to their mental attitude toward nature, he seems to bring a passionate, fervent emotion of love. He speaks of a cloud as "fair Cousin Cloud!" He makes a flute the voice of nature

"singing sweet and lone,"
breathing "through life's strident polyphone,"
Demand of Science whence and why
Man's tender pain, man's inward cry,
When he doth gaze on earth and sky,"
and his "penetrating flute, not overbold
Yet holds full powers from nature manifold."

Note this eloquent solo in *The Symphony*, wherein all the exquisite

"forms and sounds and lights
And warmths and mysteries and mights
Of Nature's utmost depths and heights"

are presented by their

"Mouthpiece and leal instrument
And servant, all love—eloquent,
The rose-throat of the tender, many-tongued flute."

He learned at an early age by his own efforts and practice to play passably on a one-keyed German flute, and he often accompanied his mother on the piano in simple songs, strathspeys, Virginia reels and other crude instrumental pieces.

His father encouraged every refining tendency, yet afterwards warned him against making an occupation of music.

In ante-bellum days in Georgia the employments of those above the rank of non-educated "white trash" were thought to be medicine, the pulpit, the bench and bar, teaching, lordly planting, princely trading, etc., only. Some other vocations that have since risen much in the esteem of the people were then held in slight regard.

The youth, Lanier, was a bright, witty, thoughtful, active boy, mingling in all sports, yet often voluntarily retiring to a closed room for practice on the little yellow flageolet (it might be termed) and for poring over Scott or Froissart's Chron-

icles or Percy's Reliques or the few 18th century classics to be found in the small book collection of a struggling young attorney, his father.

Being well advanced in studies he is put at fourteen to a sort of apprenticeship to business for one year in "Uncle Sam's" crude postoffice at Macon, and at fifteen he is entered in the Sophomore class, half advanced on mid-term, at Oglethorpe College, Midway, near Milledgeville, then the small State capital.

Dr. Samuel K. Talmage, uncle of the distinguished preacher, recently deceased, was president of this Presbyterian school, and Dr. James Woodrow was one of its professors. In later years Sidney Lanier sometimes spoke of having received from Professor Woodrow a strong stimulus toward research and scholarship.

A few of his boyish letters have been found, telling his first experiences at this school, and they abound in evidences of a very deep, singularly self-examining nature for a boy of fifteen. Sometime all these and other letters must be printed, and will constitute the truest story of his life, for he poured out his inmost thoughts often to those he loved.

His was a nature fitted for ardent friendships; he was at all periods of life continually making new, and cementing old, attachments. He wrote many letters and his pen seemed always warm with the flame of a loving affection.

For a year after graduation, previous to the war between the States, he was employed as tutor at his Alma Mater. Volunteering a private soldier in the Macon volunteers, 2nd Ga. Battalion of Infantry, he doffed the academic gown of professor in the spring of 1861, and shouldered his musket to march among the first troops that rushed from the South to the battle grounds of Virginia.

After a year and a half of infantry service he and his brother and two companions were transferred to the Signal Corps of Milligan, and were on detached duty as scouts and mounted signal men under Woodley, in that then-debatable land between the enemy around Norfolk and the Confederate lines near Petersburg.

No campaigning separated him from his flute and from a few small books, among which I remember a German Glossary, a little volume of German poetry, *Aurora Leigh*, of Mrs. Browning, *Les Miserables*, of Victor Hugo, and, I think, *Macaria*, of our Augusta Evans.

One morning at dawn (we were camped at Burwell's Bay,

James River, thirty miles from Fortress Monroe), the enemy sent up gunboats and a transport, landed a regiment, surrounded or attempted to surround our party of eighteen, drove us out of hiding, after receiving considerable punishment and loss in an entire day's skirmishing, and, alas! captured our camp equipage (very slim supply of frying pans, "spiders" for cooking, wooden bunks,) two guitars, change of clothing, shaving appliance, love letters, quinine pills, sassafras root, althea tooth brushes, one or two blankets, writing materials, signal torch lamps, and also the above mentioned small select library, more precious to us than a New York *Carnegie* could possibly be in these after years.

Thanks to Woodley's and Hennis' skillful skirmishing, we saved "our skins," arms, and what we carried in kit and haversack, among which was Lanier's magic flute.

Our operations were reported to Headquarters, and were noticed in orders read from the military office of General R. E. Lee. Lanier narrowly escaped capture, was absent from the small main body two days skirmishing with a Federal detachment across Smithfield Creek, but drove the enemy off and returned in safety with a companion.

In 1864 he was assigned to duty with Lieutenant Skipwith Wilmer, of the Marine Signal Department, at Wilmington, and in the line of that service, was running the blockade as signal officer of blockade runner *Annie*, when in December his ship was captured off the Carolina coast.

During these years of campaigning weakness of throat and lungs developed. Three months of prison life deepened this tendency, and his return home as paroled prisoner was accompanied by much hardship and exposure to cold. Shortly after reaching Macon, March, 1865, he was brought to the verge of dying in a severe illness of erysipelas. The sorrow of his mother's death came to him in May of this year.

A year of desultory study and teaching followed. The young eagle, released from a certain imprisonment of uncongenial soldiering, was preparing for some tentative flights. He strongly condemned war as a remedy for international quarrels. "Tiger Lilies," a crude essay in novel writing, yet animated by a "love strong as it is humble, for what is beautiful in God's Nature and in Man's Art," and containing wondrous hints of music, as well as descriptions of the mountains made famous by Christian Reed and Charles Egbert Craddock—contains also a very striking metaphor burgeoning into a chapter of allegory.

Chapter I of Book II begins thus: "The early spring of 1861 brought to bloom, besides innumerable violets and jessamines, a strange, enormous and terrible flower. This was the blood-red flower of war," etc. This parable ends by declaring that "war-flowers and the vine of Christ grow different ways, insomuch that no man may grow with both!" Then follows a generous suggestion that Mr. Jefferson Davis should not be made scape-goat of a whole people, and that Southern hearts bleed to see how their own act has resulted in his martyrdom, who was as innocent as they were of treason.

In 1867 Sidney Lanier was principal of a flourishing boys' and girls' academy at Prattville, Ala., and in the close of that year he was wedded to Miss Mary Day, who was to be the good genius of his life, to whom he writes the lovely poems, "My Springs," "*Laus Mariæ*," "In Absence," and "Acknowledgment," also "June Dreams in January."

In 1868 came hemorrhages—dread presage of the long conflict with disease, to follow. Like his hero in "Tiger Lilies," *Sterling*, he has studied law, has taken a wife before many fees allow themselves to be taken, and he somewhat resembles Oliver Wendell Holmes, who, as a very young medical practitioner, hangs out a shingle with the advertisement thereon: "Small *fee-vers* thankfully received." Between this time and 1873 he continues to practice law in Macon, wrestling with consumption, traveling to San Antonio, in search of strength, always scribbling hints of poetry or philosophy, and playing on the Böhm flute.

In the latter part of 1873 he is engaged with music and literature in Baltimore. He says that he could not banish from his affection the two figures of Poetry and Music; that he has kept them steadily in his heart for many years in spite of discouragement, disease, business, war; and that he feels that he begins to have a right to enroll himself among the devotees of these sublime arts. He writes in a private letter: "When Life, Health, Passion, Bent-of-Nature, and Necessity all grasp me with simultaneous hands and turn my face in one direction, why should I hesitate? . . . My hope and plan is to get a foothold in New York."

But during the last six or seven years his home was Baltimore, although many times he was absent from what he terms the place of that "ravishing word"—home: He was traveling in the South, gathering materials for that pioneer half-literary, half-guide book volume on Florida, its history, value as health

and pleasure resort, etc. : he was in Philadelphia studying, writing magazine articles, sketches of India, poems, etc. : he was in Boston, hoping to arrange events so that he might write of the life and times of Charlotte Cushman, to whom he was much attached : he is searching various localities where favorable conditions of summer climate may enable him to resume each autumn the work which now so ardently attracts him, and which even weakness and pain and lung disabilities cannot force him to wholly discontinue.

In January, 1876, General Hawley, President of the World's Fair Centennial Commission, invited him to prepare the words of the Centennial Cantata, music to be arranged by Dudley Buck, to be rendered by a full chorus of voices (and played by a mammoth orchestra, under direction of Theodore Thomas), as a part of the memorable opening exercises of the Exhibition at Philadelphia in April. This is worthy of study to the technical student for many points of technique, and to the general student for its wondrous compression into brief *poetic* phrases of the philosophies of Art, of Science, of Power, of Government, of Faith, and of Social Life. He says of this that he did not hope it would instantly "appeal to tastes peppered and salted by Swineburne, *et id omne genus*, but one cannot forget Beethoven, and somehow all my inspirations come in these large and artless forms, in simple Saxon words, in unpretentious and purely intellectual conceptions ; while nevertheless I felt, all through, the necessity of making a genuine song and not a rhymed set of good adages out of it."

About this time is published one of the less well-known poems, "The Psalm of the West," for which he received three hundred dollars. Three thousand were not too much for so much of the life-blood of the heart and mind of a poet, yet why not suggest three millions, since heart and mind and emotion and other product of the invisible, intangible loom of the human spirit are priceless, incommensurable, and beyond all balancing in scales used for weighing gold dust and silver coins?

This consecrated man strove, sang, worked, with no more thought of wherewithal the physical life might be sustained than was imperatively needful to one who had no war against established forms of social struggle, and regarded things in their proper perspective, valuing the material as a foundation and vantage merely, on which one might stand to work for the spirit : he was a missionary of spirit, and of the beautiful in life and work and art.

In a prayer found among his scribbled notes, he says:

"For that which I want is, first, bread—
Thy decree, not my choice, that bread must be first.
Then music, then some time out of the struggle for bread
to write my poems;
Then to put out of care . . . those whom I love."

Among many designs he plans for a chair of Music and Poetry in Johns Hopkins University, which is partly realized just before his death.*

He made deep researches into early and middle English verse and literature. He writes a valuable contribution to the technique of English poetry, "The Science of English Verse." He arranges several series of Lectures on Chaucer and Shakespeare, on "The English Novel and the Principle of Its Development," on "Music in Shakespeare's Time"; he prepares the four books for boys, "The Froissart," "King Arthur," "Percy," and "Mabinogion"; he delivers lectures to parlor classes, desiring to show "how much more genuine profit there would be in *studying at first hand*, under the guidance of an enthusiastic interpreter, the writers and conditions of a particular epoch (for instance), than in reading any amount of commentary or in hearing any number of miscellaneous lectures on subjects which range from Palestine to *pottery* in the course of a week."

The lectureship on English Literature at the Johns Hopkins finally materialized, and President Gilman's official notification reached him on the poet's birthday—February 3, 1879. This summer was spent at the Rockbridge Alum Springs, Va., where he revelled in nearness to his beloved rocks and hills and waters. Yet he worked at race-horse speed, seeming to receive some premonition of the time when labor must cease.

He had sung of "The Stirrup Cup" two years before, when lonesomely in Florida he contemplated the advance of his disease.

"Death, thou art a cordial old and rare:
Then, Time, let not a drop be spilt:
Hand me the cup whene'er thou wilt:
'Tis thy rich stirrup-cup to me:
I'll drink it down right smilingly."

His father and brothers aid him to establish a canvas house

*See current number of Scribner's Magazine, May and June, 1902, for some account of him by Ex-President D. C. Gilman.

at "Camp Robin," near Asheville, N. C., overlooking the French Broad River, in March, 1881, and he continues to struggle for health, to prepare material for an account of the North Carolina mountain land, and to scribble off hints of poems; he sings in 1875 *Rose Morals*:

"The wind is up; so, drift away:
That songs from me as leaves from thee may fly,
I strive, I pray."

But the heroic struggle does not avail to gain new health. He works with unabated ardor, yet in midnights, perhaps, thinking pensively—

"Death, My God! it is the sweetest and dearest of all the Angels to him who understands."

The canvas camp is moved to the beautiful valley of the Pacolet, Lynn, Polk County, and I left him one afternoon in early September, astride his easy-loping pony, which he bestrode daily. I thought he had gained new working orders from the Masters for many months of earthly "labor, at leisure, in art;" but the light shining in his lucent, tender, gray eyes, was a glint from the "Vast of the Lord," and the Sunrise from that Heavenly *Vast* was whispering:

"And ever my heart thro' the night shall with knowledge
abide thee,

And ever by day shall my spirit, as one that hath tried thee,
Labor, at leisure, in Art, till yonder beside thee

My soul shall float, friend Sun,
The day being done."

He strove to reunite the spirit with the intellect: for how can they live apart?

He strove to reunite the spirit with the intellect: for how can they live apart?

He strove to reunite the spirit with the intellect: for how can they live apart?

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT THAT LED TO SECESSION.

BY JUDGE WM. D. WOOD, of San Marcos, Texas.

In order to disclose properly the opportunities the writer has had to become acquainted with the matters about which he writes, a little in the way of autobiography becomes necessary. He was born in Edgecombe County, North Carolina, on the 11th of March, 1828. His parentage, on both sides, was of sturdy Southern stock. His father, Isaac F. Wood, was the son of Daniel Wood, a Revolutionary Soldier, who fought at the battle of King's Mountain, and who emigrated from near Petersburg, Virginia, to North Carolina. His mother was Peninah Horn, a daughter of William Horn, a planter of Edgecombe, who removed to Alabama in 1836 or 1837, and settled in Sumter county, and subsequently removed to Choctaw county where he died.

The writer remembers very little of North Carolina, as he was only four years and a half old when his parents removed from Carolina to Indiana. He remembers that his parents and a negro girl they owned, frequently at night engaged in picking by hand the lint from seed cotton, which was by hand carded into rolls and spun and woven into cloth for the use of the family. In the neighborhood at a country store, owned by one Roundtree, there was a cotton gin. The process of packing or baling the cotton at this gin, as the writer remembers it, was by cutting a round hole in the gin house floor, through which a long bag was hung by hooks fastened around the edges of the hole; into this bag the lint cotton as it came from the gin was thrown, and from time to time a negro man would get into the bag with a crow bar and pack the cotton down. When the bag was complete, it much resembled the bags of wool put up at our sheep ranches at the present day.

The father of the writer, with many other North Carolinians, removed to the State of Indiana in 1832, and settled in Randolph county, twelve miles north of Richmond in Wayne county. A considerable portion of the early settlers in these

counties came from the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia; many of them were Quakers, or as they called themselves, Friends. They were honest, industrious and peaceable citizens, morally and religiously opposed to war, bloodshed and slavery. They were primitive Abolitionists. At that early day they considered it a religious duty to assist the runaway slave on his way to Canada, the Mecca of the runaway, for he was not considered safe from his master, until he had crossed the Canada line. As illustrative of the disposition of the denomination of Friends to assist the runaway in his flight for freedom, I will relate an incident. One winter's night when the ground was covered with snow and the thermometer trembling around the zero point, the writer and some half dozen other boys were out on a frolic. On their rounds they came to the house of a good old Quaker by the name of Nixon, who was so strict in his religious principles, that he had discharged a hired man because he indulged in the vain and worldly amusement of whistling while at his work. It was rumored in the neighborhood that Nixon's house was a depot or harbor on the underground route for runaway negroes, leading from Kentucky to Canada. In order to test the truth of this rumor, one of the boys who could imitate the negro lingo pretty well, was deputed to call the old man up. He went to the gate and after repeated loud calls for "Massa Nixon," the old man came to the door in his night clothes. In answer to his question, the boy claimed to be a runaway from Kentucky, who had stopped at Newport, a town about six miles away, another reputed depot on the underground line; that his master in hot pursuit had arrived there in the evening, and for safety he had been sent by friends at Newport to "Massa Nixon." The old man told him he was glad to have it in his power to take care of him, and to come right into the house, as he knew he must be nearly frozen. The supposed runaway said he could not do so, as he was afraid to stop in the house, but to please hide him in the barn among the fodder. Nixon told the supposed fugitive to wait till he could put on his clothes, and he would go with him to the barn. When the old man closed the door, we boys scampered away. When the old man got on his clothes and returned for the distressed Sambo, he was no doubt much surprised to find that he had vanished. It was cruel on the part of us youngsters, to so treat the old man, for during the continuance of the colloquy, he was quaking from head to foot, not from the strivings of the spirit, but from the icy blasts of winter then sweeping over the snow covered earth.

No doubt the Quakers who emigrated from the Slave States to the Free, were influenced to a considerable extent in making the change, by the fact that they were leaving a Slave state for one where human slavery was not tolerated. At the same time, a Friend, as a man, was as keenly alive to the turning of an honest penny and as ready to embrace any legitimate opportunity to better his condition, as any one else. The most of the other emigrants who had no conscientious scruples on the subject of slavery, were influenced by the hope of bettering their condition, by acquiring the rich and cheap lands north of the Ohio river; some of them no doubt by the restless, roving disposition that has ever characterized a considerable portion of the people of this country, seeking change for change's sake, allured by the seductive glamor that the best place, the best country, and a fortune are just in advance of them, waiting to be overtaken, captured and enjoyed.

The writer's father was a Jackson Democrat. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana, from Randolph county as a Democrat; subsequently to the Senate of that State, from the counties of Randolph, Jay and Blackford. In the fifties he was elected from Leon county as a member of the Texas Legislature, and subsequently was elected Chief Justice of Leon county.

From 1832 to 1850, the writer resided in the State of Indiana. His first vote was cast in the city of Indianapolis for the candidates of the Democratic party; and while always a Democrat, he is not so blinded by party prejudices as to believe that whether right or wrong the party should be supported. In 1850 he started for Texas by the way of Alabama, where for the want of funds to prosecute his journey he was detained until the fall of 1851. He arrived in Centerville, Leon County, Texas, on the 14th of November, 1851, where he remained until May, 1883, when he removed to San Marcos, Hays County, Texas, where he now resides.

The first Abolition lecturer or missionary, as well as the writer remembers, that appeared in Randolph County, was one Arnold Buffon. He passed through the county, lecturing at churches, school houses or wherever he could obtain an audience, denouncing slavery and slave-holders. This was about 1836 or 1837. At most of the places where he lectured, he was coldly received and roughly treated, and at some places pelted with rotten eggs, and warned not to return. It is a peculiar attribute of human nature that at first sight we may abhor a thing, at second sight we tolerate it, and by frequent contact, we finally embrace

it. So it was that others followed the footsteps of Buffon, and the anti-slavery evangel continued to be preached with a seemingly unwearied perseverance and persistence. As time passed, people became more tolerant, listened, and now and then a convert was made. The sentiment of opposition to slavery grew, acquiring yearly additional force and momentum among the people outside of the denomination of Friends. As the Whig and Democratic parties were in those days nearly evenly balanced as to numbers, victory sometimes inclining to the one and then to the other, the Abolition sentiment soon came to hold the balance of power between the two parties. It became a matter of great interest to the politicians, and they commenced to court it. The party that yielded the most to the anti-slavery sentiment triumphed at the polls, and from this moment the anti-slavery idea spread with accelerated speed, until it embraced a majority of the people of the Free states

To such extremes did the anti-slavery feeling go, that many would not buy cotton goods, for fear that they were made out of cotton raised by slave labor. In response to this feeling, quite a business grew up in the sale of cotton goods guaranteed to be made out of cotton raised by free labor. One Mendenhall, a resident of Randolph county, was one of the leading agents in this business. He made annual journeys to the cotton states to buy cotton raised by free labor, which cotton he professed to have made into goods to supply the demand of those who were too conscientious to wear or use any articles produced by slave labor. No doubt Medenhall and his co-agents made it profitable in thus pandering to the prevalent fanaticism. It thus came about that the anti-slavery feeling and sentiment, which threatened the destruction of the Union built up by the expenditure of so much blood, suffering and treasure, was seized upon by demagogues and fanatics in order to coin money. Nero who fiddled while Rome was in flames, has had his counterpart in every age and country.

The long continued agitation of the slavery question between the people of the slave-holding states and those of the non-slave-holding states, had begotten a deep-seated irritation and feeling of unjust treatment, on the part of the former by the latter. On the 14th of February, 1858, the Texas Legislature, in response to the recommendation of Governor Runnels, based on the violent and revolutionary conditions in Kansas, in opposition to the rights of the slave-holder and his property, then taking place, authorized the Governor of Texas to order the election of seven delegates to meet delegates from the other slave states

in reference to the adoption of the necessary means to protect and secure the equal rights of the slave-holding states in the Union. A second resolution authorized the Governor to call the Legislature together, in extra session, should he consider the rights of Texas, a Sovereign State, in danger, to consider the propriety of calling a convention to authorize the withdrawal of Texas from the Union, and the assumption of her rights as a Sovereign and independent State.

After the discovery of the American continent, nearly every nation of the world professing to be civilized, countenanced the slave trade, and approved the enslaving of the people of the barbarous and savage tribes of America and Africa. England, Spain and the Dutch, especially the Dutch West India Company, countenanced and engaged in the slave traffic, and fastened the institution of slavery on their colonies in the New World. Even the Constitution of the United States forbade that the importation of slaves into the country should be prohibited before the year 1808. So it was in those early days that slavery was not only upheld by law, but approved by the overwhelming sentiment of the civilized world.

The Southern slave-holder felt that he was not responsible for the institution; that it came to him by inheritance, under the sanction of law and the guaranties of the Federal Constitution; that many of the Free States originally tolerated slavery; that their citizens instead of manumitting their slaves, had exercised the right of property in them, and sold them to their brethren further South, because slave labor was not profitable in the bleak climate of the North; and that these same persons were active parties in the importation of slaves, and grew rich by selling them to the Southern planter. The slave-holder further felt that he was a citizen of the Union, that the unsettled territories of the Union were the common heritage of *all* of the people of the Union, and that as an owner in common, a citizen of a slave-holding state had a right to carry his slave property into any of the territories, and be as much protected, under the guaranties of the Constitution as the man from the Free State, who carried only his horse or his ox. Not only did the people of the Free States nullify the fugitive slave law, and made it impossible for the slave owner to enjoy his slave property in the common territories of the Union, but they were constantly clamoring for the abolition of slavery in all the states, asserting that the right of property in man could not be justified in law, morals or religion, and characterizing the slave-holder as a monster outside the pale of humanity. Senator

Sumner in the Senate of the United States in 1854, said: "To overthrow the slave power we are summoned by a double call, one political, the other philanthropic. First, to remove an oppressive tyranny from the National Government, and secondly, to open the gates of emancipation in the Slave States." Senator Seward in his speech in New York, in 1858, presented what he said was the issue then pending in the United States. He said: "Shall the social organization of the North supplant that of the South? Free labor and slave labor cannot exist together in the Union." Such sentiments were certainly calculated to exasperate the slave-holder, when he reflected that these same people had tolerated slavery, and had ridden themselves of it, not because of conscientious scruples or philanthropy, but because it was not profitable to them. Harried and hounded in this way, as the people of the South had been for years, their Constitutional rights disregarded, goaded by these bitter denunciations, because they dared to claim and exercise their rights, is to be wondered that in 1860, when the bitter warfare culminated in the election of a president, who was the embodiment and representative of all this accumulated hostility and feeling of the Free States against the Slave States, that there should be a strong and almost universal desire, on the part of the latter to withdraw from and sever all political union with the former?

Lincoln was possessed of a kind and sympathetic heart, and had no desire to be unjust to any one knowingly, and had he been left to pursue the dictates of his own best judgment, the bloody Civil war would have been avoided, and some peaceful adjustment found of the slave trouble. While Lincoln declared that the government could not stand part free and part slave, he also declared that he had no desire to interfere with slavery in the states where it was established. However, the fanatical hatred of slavery and the slaveholder was so violent and powerful, so overwhelming and all-controlling, that Lincoln could no more stay its course than he could the force and devastation of the cyclone. Situated as he was, he could do nothing but respond to the popular sentiment of the Free States, and simply register their will. After having embarked, however much against his will it may have been, in the attempt to force the people of the South back into the Union, the pride he would naturally feel in being successful, came to his support, and he became willing to sanction any measure that held out the promise of achieving the end. Hence his proclamation emancipat-

ing the slaves, though he had declared he had no desire to interfere with slavery in the States.

Notwithstanding Lincoln finally threw himself with all his energy and power of mind into the struggle to conquer the South, his death just before the close of the war was a most unfortunate thing for the people of the Confederacy. With his kind and gentle disposition and his popularity with the people of the Free States, he could measureably have had his will, and would have been disposed to extend to the Southern people the hand of sympathy and forgiveness, and the fearful measures of reconstruction would never have developed. The growth of the anti-slavery sentiment may be well illustrated by the votes cast for the Abolition candidates for President of the United States in the following years:

1840, James G. Birney, Liberty, 7,059 votes.

1844, James G. Birney Liberty, 62,300 votes.

1848, Martin Van Buren, Free-soiler, 291,263 votes.

1852, John P. Hale, Free-soiler, 156,149 votes.

1856, John C. Fremont, Republican, 1,341,262 votes.

1860, Abraham Lincoln, Republican, 1,866,352 votes.

In the election of 1860 Douglas received 1,375,157 votes; Breckenridge, 875,534, and Bell, 589,581. These three candidates represented different phases of democracy, and while the votes cast for them exceeded the votes cast for Lincoln by 973,920, the great majority of the Northern Democrats who nominated and supported Douglas were in favor of "Squatter Sovereignty," the doctrine that the inhabitants of a territory before it became a State, could adopt or abolish slavery.

While Douglas posed as a Democrat, the platform on which he was nominated, while not expressly endorsing "Squatter Sovereignty," gave no substantial guarantee of the protection of the equal rights of the South in the Union, or practical assurance that the slaveholder would be protected in his rights of property in his slave. The supporters of Bell were Unionists, in favor of fighting for the rights of the South inside of the Union. In none of these platforms on which Lincoln, Douglas, and Bell were nominated, did the majority of the people of the slave states find any satisfactory security for the institution of slavery, or for their slave property; and they supported Breckenridge, who represented the Southern sentiment and feeling on the slavery question. The experience of the slave-holder in Kansas, had demonstrated that slavery had no chance along-

side of sharp rifles and "Squatter Sovereignty," and would never be tolerated in any of the then existing territories of the Union.

In addition to the anti-slavery vote for Lincoln, a large proportion of the vote polled for Douglas represented a like anti-slavery sentiment, so that the election of 1860 showed that the voting population of the Union, by an overwhelming majority, was opposed to the institution of slavery, its existence in the States where established, and its extension into new territory.

The South recognized the doom of slavery in the Union, and that withdrawal from the Union could alone perpetuate the institution.

AN ALABAMA PROTEST AGAINST ABOLITIONISM IN 1835.

Contributed BY THOMAS M. OWEN, Montgomery, Ala.

The following documents illustrate an episode of a very interesting character in the anti-slavery controversy between the South and the Abolitionists in the thirties. The latter early foresaw the value of the press and the circulation of literature against the institution of slavery, not only as a means of arousing public opinion everywhere, but also as a means of irritating the South and Southern leaders. This literature, it is needless to observe, was regarded as highly incendiary, and its appearance aroused the keenest indignation in all parts of the South. The Southern newspaper press uniformly denounced it, and in Alabama, as is shown by the documents herewith, the whole matter received the serious consideration of the courts and of the chief executive. Notwithstanding the indictment of Williams and the demand for his surrender to the courts of Alabama, the New York executive took a different view and the demand was not complied with. The agitation of the Abolitionists continued; and the South burning with resentment, became a practical unit in opposition to their propaganda.

The documents are from the sources indicated. T. M. O.

EDITORIAL EXPRESSION ON THE INDICTMENT OF ROBERT G. WILLIAMS, EDITOR OF "THE EMANCIPATOR."

(From the *Flag of the Union*, Tuscaloosa, reprinted in *The Democrat*, Huntsville, Ala., Oct. 14, 1835.)

The Grand Jury of Tuscaloosa county on Friday, the 26th, ult. [Sept.], returned a true-bill, against Robert G. Williams, the Editor of "The Emancipator," of New York, for circulating within our State, pamphlets and papers of a seditious and incendiary character, and tending by gross misrepresentation, and illicit appeals to the passions, to excite to insurrection and murder our slave population. This course was adopted by the jury after a calm and deliberate investigation of the subject, and a full examination of the obnoxious documents, which have for some months since been transmitted to our citizens, through

the medium of the mails, by the above mentioned individual, notwithstanding they were not only unwilling to receive them, but looked upon their circulation, as a gross and impudent insult, and a base and malicious interference with their best and most valuable interests, and a direct violation of the known and severe penal laws of the State. Under these circumstances and feeling a deep obligation to our fellow citizens, to support and protect from impious violence their privileges and possessions, and to sustain and enforce, in their purity and vigor, the laws of the land, the Grand Jury have, with much prudence and propriety, presented the above named individual to the legal authorities of the country, as a malicious infringer of the established laws of the State. This individual Robert G. Williams, is the publisher and ostensible proprietor and editor of the *Emancipator*, and several other publications, issued in the city of New York, and which have for their object the total and immediate abolition of slavery, as it now exists in the Southern States. Under these circumstances he was therefore, although an unimportant individual himself, selected from the mass of the Northern Abolitionists, as a fit subject for indictment.

We learn, though not authentically, that a demand will be made by the Governor of this State upon the Executive of New York, for his delivery in pursuance of the Constitution, to the authorities of Alabama. Should such a demand be made, it will involve the consideration of several questions of constitutional and international law, which have already begun to engage the attention of the public in several of our sister States.

The clause of the constitution upon which such a demand would be made, says, a "person charged with treason, felony or other crime, who shall *flee* from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the Executive authority of the State, *from which he fled*, be delivered up to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."

From the language of this article, which is the only one in the constitution, touching the subject, it would seem that the crime should not only be perpetrated within the borders of the State, but that the individual himself should actually be *within the State*. This is the letter of the constitution, and is believed by many to be the only circumstances under which a demand could be made, viz: that the individual should be a *fugitive* from the State, where the crime was perpetrated. Now if this is the meaning of the constitution, we can certainly have under

it, no claim upon the Executive of New York, or any other State, for any person violating our criminal statutes, so long as they do not come within our border.

We think, however, that the Constitution *intends* otherwise; that the true spirit of it is, that any person violating the *criminal* laws of any State, and *being* without its jurisdiction, shall upon demand be given up to the State where the crime was committed. The word *fleeing*, was intended merely to express the fact of his absence, from the jurisdiction of the State offended, and not to express a species of *locomotion* necessary to be performed before the crime would be fully perpetrated. The criminality would be the same, should an individual, standing upon the Georgia bank of the Chattahoochie (where that river is the dividing line between Alabama and Georgia) willfully and maliciously shoot down a person on the Alabama shore, as as if he were to come over into Alabama, commit the act, and *flee* to Georgia, and we believe the Governor of Alabama would have as strong a constitutional right to demand him from the Executive of Georgia, in the one case as the other.

This question, however, is one of great difference of opinion, and is well deserving the consideration of the politicians and lawyers of the country.

DEMAND ON GOVERNOR MARCEY BY GOVERNOR GAYLE FOR THE
ARREST OF WILLIAMS.

(From the original letter.)

Executive Department, Alabama,
Tuskaloosa, 14th November 1835.

Sir

I have the honor to transmit to you, a demand under the Constitution and laws of the United States, for Robert G. Williams, and a copy of an Indictment recently found against him, by the grand jury of Tuskaloosa County, in this State, for attempting to produce insurrection and rebellion among our slave population, in the manner set forth in the Indictment. It is admitted that the offender was not in the State when his crime was committed and that he has not fled therefrom, according to the strict literal import of that term. But he has evaded the justice of our laws, and according to the interpretation which mature reflection has led me to place upon the constitution, should be delivered up for trial, to the authorities of this State.

My views, somewhat at length, are contained in a Message,

which will be sent to the General Assembly, which convenes on Monday next, and I take the liberty to enclose a copy of so much of it, as embraces this deeply exciting & interesting subject. Should your excellency concur with me in opinion, I have to request, that Williams be arrested and confined, until I can despatch an Agent to conduct him to Alabama.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Yr obt Servt,

JOHN GAYLE.

His Excellency Gov. Marcey.

[Albany, N. Y.]

EXTRACT FROM THE MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR GAYLE TO THE
ALABAMA LEGISLATURE.

(From the *Journal* of the Alabama House of Representatives, 17th Session, November 1835, pp. 12-14. Message dated Nov. 17, 1835.)

[Tuscaloosa, Ala., Nov. 17, 1835.]

The whole country has recently, been much agitated, by a disclosure of the measures which have been adopted, and the attempts which have been made and are now making, to interfere with and destroy the institution of slavery, as it exists in the South. The purpose of this interference, as avowed by its authors, is the immediate abolition of slavery, at any hazard and by whatever means they may deem necessary to its accomplishment. The expedient of sending to the south, for distribution among our slave population, immense numbers of tracts, misrepresentations and pictures, calculated to render them dissatisfied with their condition and to incite them to rebellion against their masters, has been adopted as the readiest way to introduce the bloody scenes of the drama which has been deliberately plotted for our ruin, and which, influenced by the dark spirit of fanaticism; they are resolved to perform.

This attempt to interfere with an institution, peculiarly and entirely our own, which no power on earth can control without our consent, which existed previous to the formation of the constitution and has been sanctioned, ratified and confirmed by that instrument, has roused the whole South, as one man, to the highest pitch of indignation. They have been moved almost simultaneously and without concert to hold large public meetings, and to adopt resolutions showing, that understanding their rights they are determined to maintain them as becomes

free men. Deeply and horribly impressed with the shocking calamities that must attend a servile and domestic war, they will not permit the question of slavery to be discussed, since discussion will inevitably produce the evils they so much deprecate.

Arthur Tappan and the infuriate demoniacs associated with him, as if intending to add to injury, gravely maintain, that the freedom of opinion and the liberty of the press, secured by our institutions, give them a warrant for overflowing this country with their licentious and incendiary publications. And in the very midst of the excitement which has prevailed at the North; when our brethren, in that quarter were loud and indignant in expressing their disapprobation of the reckless course of these fanatics, they appealed, in a printed and formal document, to the American people to sustain them, under the pretext of free discussion, in their efforts to light up our land by the midnight conflagration of our dwellings, and to effect the indiscriminate slaughter of our wives of our sons and our daughters.

Nothing is more to be regretted, than the attempts which have been made by partisan newspapers to connect this subject with the contest that is now going on for the office of President of the United States. The politicians of the South who do not favor the pretensions of a Northern candidate for this high office, are charged with endeavoring to keep up and increase the abolition excitement, with the foul design of dissolving the Union, while it is maintained, on the other hand, that the candidate alluded to is in favor of the principles and friendly to the views of the Northern incendiaries. These mutual accusations are il-liberal and unjust, because they are made without any proof whatever and it is believed have not the slightest foundation in truth. They serve to show the bitterness of party spirit, and the unprincipled devices to which editors of the present day will resort, for the purpose of proving their devotion to particular individuals. If the exertions of those who are endeavoring to distract the councils and to paralyze the efforts which the South are making to guard against the dangers of the impending crisis, should be attended with success—if by threatening the people of the slave holding states with the odium of a connexion with this or that political creed, they can induce any considerable portion of them to abandon or become indifferent to a cause in which their highest interests and their whole fortune are vitally at stake, they may succeed in making a President, but it is fearfully apprehended, that a dissolution of the Union will be among the early fruits of their victory, for no one of common discernment can doubt, that unless the Northern fanatics

are prevented by timely measures from pursuing their mad career, this event will certainly and speedily take place.

We are told that public sentiment in the North is decidedly in our favor, and that the large and numerous public meetings which have been called throughout the non-slave-holding states, demonstrate that the majority is too overwhelming to be resisted—that, with these favorable indications before us, we should not agitate this subject in the South, and that it is our duty to rely, for safety, upon the force of public opinion in that quarter. Our Northern brethren deserve and will command our gratitude for the interest they have taken in our behalf, and there can be little doubt that the majority against the abolitionists is very large, but this reasoning is wholly erroneous and delusive. He who believes that fanaticism can be put down by public opinion, has a very imperfect knowledge of human nature, and must be deaf to the lessons and admonitions of history. So far from this being the case, the opposition to public opinion is the aliment, the food that feeds, nourishes and sustains this dark and fiendish passion. Of this, no stronger proof could be offered than the success, with which the efforts of these false philanthropists have been crowned, in opposition to the concentrated force of public opinion throughout the Northern States. Indeed they never acquired any considerable notoriety until this opposition commenced. Under its heaviest pressure, if the information we have received be correct, they have established 250 anti-slavery societies, and about thirty presses, from one of which, they send forth weekly, from twenty-five to fifty thousand incendiary pamphlets, and other similar publications. But a short while since, the whole population of the State of New York, seemed to be aroused to the sense of the dangers threatened by the machinations of these societies. The largest public meetings which had ever been convened were speedily assembled, from which issued the most eloquent and burning condemnation of the abolitionists; and yet in the very face of these proceedings, imposing as they undoubtedly were, they have called a convention of their associates, from the several counties and districts in that State, and their leader Tappan and others, in numerous handbills, have announced their firm and unshaken purpose of renewing with increased energy, their exertions in favor of immediate abolition. It is obvious, therefore, that we blindly and obstinately deceive ourselves, if we entertain the belief that public opinion, unaided by the strong sanctions of the law, will have any other effect than to strengthen the hands of this dangerous and insidious

enemy. It has been improperly admitted by writers in the South, who have engaged in discussing this subject, that the constitution and laws of the United States, in regard to fugitives from justice, do not authorize a demand for the delivery of those incendiaries, to the States whose laws they have violated. The opinion has been embraced under the erroneous impression, that the rules of strict construction, which, with great propriety apply to certain parts of the constitution, must necessarily apply to all others. They do not appear to have observed the obvious distinction, between those provisions of this instrument, which transfer powers to the General Government, and those which confirm and enlarge the rights of the States as they existed previous to its formation. When the States achieved their independence, they had no rules to regulate their intercourse with each other, but such as could be derived from the law of nations. This law, as laid down by Vattel in relation to offenders is, that a sovereign "ought not to suffer his subjects to molest the subjects of others, or do them an injury; much less should he permit them audaciously to offend foreign powers. He ought to oblige the guilty to repair the damage, if that be possible—to inflict upon him exemplary punishment, or in short, according to the nature and circumstances attending it, to deliver him up to the offended State, there to receive justice." The rule as stated by this eminent author was defective, as it left it too much in the power of the State applied to, to judge of the nature of the crime, for which an offender should be delivered up, and as no mode of proceeding was specified, in making the demand, and no compulsory obligation imposed to insure a compliance with it, when made. To remedy these defects, the constitution provides, that "a person charged in any State, with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime." It is contended that by this clause, unless a man actually flee, run away or voluntarily go into another State, he cannot be demanded by the Governor of the State in which his crime was committed. The expression flee, is not as comprehensive as others that might have been employed, but, as the great object of this provision was to secure the punishment of offenders, and thereby preserve the harmony of the States, according to all the known rules of construction, it should be taken in the sense in which it was used by the framers of the Constitution. The word flee as it occurs in this clause is synonymous with the word evade.

It would be trifling with the dignity and importance of the subject, to confine this expression strictly to its literal meaning, for it would lead to the absurd conclusion, that if an offender leaves the State by any means whatever, without his consent, he could not be demanded or surrendered up to the justice of our laws. Suppose the case of a man guilty of murder here, who is conveyed by force to Georgia, and is tried and acquitted for supposed offenses against the laws of that State. He chooses afterwards to reside in Georgia, and according to the position assumed, cannot be demanded of the executive, for he did not flee from justice, if to flee is a voluntary act. This provision of the constitution should receive the most liberal construction, for the reason that it is in favor of the rights of the States, and because, without such construction, they will be deprived of the power of self protection. It is undoubtedly true, that the States of the Union, in all their reserved rights, occupy to each other the relation of independent sovereignties, and any one of them has the right to demand redress and satisfaction for injuries done by the others or by their citizens. But having expressly relinquished the power to enter into treaties, grant letters of marque and reprisal, &c., the only means to which resort can be had to secure the obligations which exist between independent States, we should, if we rely on the national code, be restricted simply to the privilege of preferring our complaints without the power of enforcing them. Influenced by the views herein expressed, I have transmitted to the Governor of New York, a copy of an indictment, found by the Grand Jury of Tuscaloosa county at their late session, against one of these incendiary editors, by the name of Williams, accompanied with a demand for his delivery for trial to the authorities of this State. From the high character of the Chief Magistrate of New York, from his known attachment to the Union and the just and liberal views he entertains towards the institutions and people of the South, there is no doubt that he will examine the subject with the most favorable dispositions, and with a sincere desire to render impartial justice, and to arrive at a correct interpretation of the constitution. After all, the question is rendered doubtful, as many persons in the South, respectable for intelligence and political research, have published opinions different from mine, and it is not improbable that these opinions will be embraced by our Northern brethren. Such are the perils of our situation—the dangers by which we are surrounded, that it is certainly the part of wisdom and prudence not to rest our case on any doubtful issue. We should look to those measures of safety and re-

sort to them at once, which will place us beyond the reach of these unprincipled fanatics. Should the right to demand them, be admitted, it may well be questioned whether that would protect us against the evils of which we complain. As the evidence to be brought against them will have to be collected in the States where their schemes and machinations are prepared, it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to convict them, according to the rules which have been laid down in criminal prosecutions, for the security and protection of the citizen. It is believed, therefore, that no remedy short of severe penal statutes, passed by the States where slavery does not exist, will be effectual for our relief. They themselves entertain no doubt of their right to pass these laws, and they are called upon to do so, by the solemn behests of the constitution, by the noble efforts of our ancestors for independence, and by the blessings we all derive from our glorious and happy Union.

JOHN BELL.*

BY SALLIE FLEMING ORDWAY, Auburn, Ala.

To the general reader John Bell is known merely as the unsuccessful candidate of the Constitutional Union party for president in 1860. But his nomination by this conservative party of able men was really the reward of years of important service in State and national affairs, and it is the irony of fate that after a well rounded life full of usefulness, success, and honor, his name should be remembered only, by his association with a political movement that failed.

He was born on February 15, 1797, near Nashville, Tennessee. He graduated at the University of Nashville in 1814, and began to practice law at Franklin in 1816. The next year he was elected to the State Senate at the unusually early age of twenty, and served one term. He declined a re-election, and went back to his law practice. In this he was eminently successful, and gained a training and experience which helped him greatly when later on he went to Congress.

In 1827 Mr. Bell entered public life as Congressman from Davidson county, winning the election in a very hot and exciting campaign over Felix Grundy, then in the height of his fame. Grundy was the favorite of General Jackson who gave him his open and cordial support and did all in his power to help him. He was a brilliant, well known, and very successful lawyer, twenty years Bell's senior, and had previously been a member of Congress. Bell was young, comparatively unknown, and this was his first political campaign. So it is remarkable with all the odds against him, Bell should have been elected by an over-whelming majority. He took his seat in Congress with a national reputation, and with strong feelings of resentment against the president. He was a Jackson-Democrat, but, though he supported most of the issues of Jackson's administration, there was already sown the seed of that dissension which was

*This paper was awarded the prize offered by the Lewis Chapter of D. A. R. at Eufaula, Ala., for the best piece of original research in American History done by any young woman student of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

to cause a final separation of the two leading minds of Tennessee and drive Bell into the ranks of the Whigs.

In 1834 Bell was made speaker of the House, his main opponent being James K. Polk. The next year a similar contest occurred, in which Polk won. These two speakership contests are said to be the only time when Tennesseans have been against each other in such an election.

One of the most important questions of the earlier part of Jackson's administration was the one about removing the Cherokee and Creek Indians from Georgia. Bell was, at that time, chairman of the committee on Indian Affairs, and carried through successfully the policy of the president. This was to force the Indians to move beyond the Mississippi and give them land there, and also to pay them for the land in Georgia which was thus taken from them contrary to the treaties formally made by the United States with them.

The first real break between Jackson and Bell was in regard to the recharter of the National Bank and the removal of the government deposits from it. Jackson probably entered his administration with a feeling of opposition to the Bank. He soon questioned its constitutionality and its expediency, called it a monopoly and suggested that its financial condition was not sound. He claimed that the bank had been employing its means to prevent his re-election, and that it was now using its funds to buy up members of congress in order to get a renewal of its charter. It was thus becoming a dangerous means of corruption and an enemy to the government. As his mind was made up he went to work to carry out his plans. He determined to have the government deposits removed from it. But there was a law which required that the Secretary of the Treasury should have the sole power to remove these deposits, and that he must at once report to congress his reasons for such action. So Jackson remodeled his cabinet twice before he finally found a man willing to do his bidding. Bell was among those who did not favor Jackson's course in regard to this affair. Jackson resented his disapproval, and there was a visible widening of the breach already made.

From this time on, their relations grew more and more strained. In 1833 it became known that Jackson had determined to make Van Buren his successor, and this caused great alarm in Tennessee, where Van Buren was very unpopular. It became rumored that Hugh L. White, a noted Tennessean, was going to be put up against Van Buren, and, to prevent this,

Jackson offered him several offices, all of which he refused and thus strengthened Jackson's fears. Jackson then made the unfortunate threat that if White did come forward as a candidate he would "render him adious to society." White was known as the purest and most spotless character, and he was so enraged by this speech that when the nomination was offered him a few days later, he accepted, contrary to his first intentions. Then followed one of the most furious political struggles ever waged in Tennessee. John Bell supported White and managed his campaign, in so far as it was managed at all. They both declared themselves supporters of Jackson, and he was equally vehement in his declaration that they were not. In a speech made in Nashville on May 23, 1833, Mr. Bell said: "Opposition to the administration of Gen. Jackson is the course the worst enemies of Judge White desire his friends to adopt. But, gentlemen, the friends of Judge White will adhere to Gen. Jackson and his administration from consistency and respect for their own characters, and because they will be supporting their own principles." Out of this division of the Democratic-Republican party grew the Democrats, who supported Jackson, and the Whigs, of whom John Bell was the leader in Tennessee. Jackson established a newspaper in Nashville, "The Globe," and its attacks on Bell in which it said that White was "a tool in the hands of one deeper and more designing than himself—one whose foul and deep-laid scheme it was to defeat Jackson's administration and strengthen the hands of his enemies," finally drove him to declare his opposition to Jackson in his celebrated Vauxhall speech. Of course, as a result of this struggle, White was not elected, but he carried Tennessee, and even the Hermitage District by a vast majority. The only victory of the Jackson party during this time was that of James K. Polk over Bell as speaker in 1835.

Up to this time Bell had supported all of Jackson's measures except the question about the bank. He had objected to the protective tariff of 1832, had favored the reduction of 1833, and had been with Jackson in his views on nullification until the question of the Force Bill came up. Now he was a Whig. In other words he had entered congress as a Jackson-Democrat, had differed from Jackson on some important matters, had been bold enough to defy him, and now not ten years later was the leader of the opposing faction. It is hard to say whether he came to believe deeply in such Whig doctrines as a protective tariff and internal improvements. In a speech made in congress June 8th, 1832, in regard to the tariff of 1832, he earnestly

opposed the so-called American system which he said was "the direct and baneful cause of the present distracted condition of the country," while "the true American policy is to preserve the natural equality of rank and influence by discouraging the accumulation of great wealth in the hands of individual citizens." He made a speech very soon after entering congress about the "Cumberland Road" which gave him an opportunity to express his views on the subject of 'internal improvements.' He is very much opposed to congress's having anything to do with what it has no constitutional right to act upon. Or to use his own words: "I have brought my mind to the conclusion that the assumption of the direction and superintendence of a system of internal improvements by Congress will lead to results of the most disastrous character—both to the prosperity and liberty of the people."

In regard to the nullification controversy with South Carolina, Bell supported Jackson until the Force Bill came up. He was made chairman of the judiciary committee, and reported that the committee was not in favor of giving so much arbitrary power into the hands of one man. They thought the trouble should be stopped, but without the use of military force.

As early as 1830 the great storm about abolition petitions was already brewing, and its advance could be felt. Societies were being formed for the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, and in 1831 John Quincy Adams presented fifteen petitions from different counties of Pennsylvania to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. At this time Mr. Bell displeased his Southern supporters by his views on the subject. He said: "With regard to the Constitutional power of Congress over this subject, I would say, that the only doubt I have of the existence of the power either to suppress the slave trade or to abolish slavery in the District, is inspired by the respect I have for the opinions of so many distinguished and eminent men both in and out of Congress who hold that Congress has no such power. Reading the Constitution for myself, I believe that Congress has all the power over the subject in this District which the states have within their respective jurisdiction.— But, however great my respect may be for the opinions of others there are some considerations of such high account as in my judgment to make it desirable that unless by common consent the project of abolition shall be wholly given up, and disbanded, the remnant of slavery existing in the District should be abolished at once. At the present moment, however, the excited

state of public sentiment in the South, growing out of territorial questions seems to forbid such a course.— I would be glad to see all cause of disturbance and contention in the District wholly removed, but let me say that this can never be done by the abolition of slavery unless it be accomplished by some adequate provision for the removal of the effective control of the slaves after they shall have been emancipated. With this qualification and in order to test the determination of the North in regard to any further and continued aggression upon Southern feelings and the security of Southern property, I would be glad to see slavery in the District abolished today. In one aspect of the subject I am not sure that it would not be a great conservative measure, both as regards the Union and the interests of the South; this District once relieved of all sources of dissension we should be speedily enlightened on the question whether the North would stop there or raise new and dangerous issues." The question was finally settled by saying it would be unjust to interfere until Virginia and Maryland did. But petitions kept pouring in, and an equal number came from the South, begging that no abolition petitions be received. This was felt by the conservative men, North and South, to be a great mistake, as the cause of slavery became thus identified with the denial of the freedom of speech and writing. Mr. Bell's speeches in favor of receiving the abolition petitions are considered among his best, and are among the strongest made on the subject. He favored their reception, not because he was opposed to slavery but because he considered freedom of speech as a part of our inherent rights as Englishmen.

After the Whig victory in 1841, John Bell was made secretary of war in President Harrison's cabinet. Harrison died. Bell did not like his successor, Tyler, and in the fall of the same year resigned, as did all of the cabinet except Webster. Bell returned to Tennessee, and the next year he was urged to come forward as candidate for a vacancy in the Senate, but declined in favor of Ephraim H. Foster. Returning to the practice of law he became successful and eminent. In 1847 he became a member of the House of Representatives of Tennessee, and from that body was sent to the United States Senate. The war with Mexico was then in progress, and on February 2, 1848, he delivered a speech on that subject in the Senate which some described as the ablest made on the question, and which alone, it is said, "would stamp him as a statesman of the first rank." In Marsh's

Reminiscences of Congress it is stated that Calhoun and Webster were attentive listeners, and that Calhoun declared it to be exhaustive of the subject.

The next great political issue was the California-Oregon question. The bill first presented to Congress provided that California should be admitted as a free state without going through any territorial condition, and that slavery should be forever excluded from Oregon territory. This caused a perfect storm of debate between Northern and Southern men. Clay, as usual, offered a compromise measure, and during the course of the speeches on this, on February 18, before Calhoun or Webster presented their views, Mr. Bell came forward with propositions supporting Clay. He suggested that California be admitted as a commonwealth, and that each territory be allowed, in making its State constitution, to "have the sole and exclusive right to regulate and suggest all questions of internal state policy of whatever nature they may be, controlled only by the restrictions expressly imposed by the Constitution of the United States." These resolutions were referred to a committee but nothing was done for some time. Calhoun, in his speeches, set forth his doctrine that the Constitution protected slaves as well as all other property, and that Congress had no right to legislate against slavery in any territory. He declared that whether the North now gave the South a compromise, would settle definitely the question of the dissolution of the Union. Bell, conservative as always, spoke against Calhoun's extreme views, and said that though he was a Southern man, and deeply involved in Southern interests, he still believed that Calhoun had placed the South in a wrong position when he assumed that by the decision of that question (slavery in the Oregon territory) the die would be cast and the issue then made would involve the dissolution of the Union. Mr. Bell had supported Clay all the while, and was on the Committee of Thirteen which was appointed to consider the various resolutions, and which presented the compromise of 1850 in its final form.

During the course of the debates on this subject, Clay became rather bitter against General Taylor, on account of his attitude toward the compromise, and in one speech he declared that if General Taylor would only do his part, the bill could easily be passed. Mr. Bell defended General Taylor's course in a very able speech, saying that "General Taylor had been influenced in his course upon this subject by the highest and noblest motives of duty and patriotism." Near the close of his

remarks, he said, "The president announced that he still adhered to the plan he had proposed, and the old question is presented whether Mahomet will come to the mountain, or the mountain come to Mahomet. I do not undertake to say which is Mahomet or which the mountain." To which Clay quickly responded, "I beg pardon, but I only wanted the mountain to let me alone."

In 1853 the country was again torn asunder by the struggle over the Kansas-Nebraska bill of Stephen A. Douglas. This bill provided that the eastern part of the Platte country be divided into two territories to be called Kansas and Nebraska. All of this region was north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$; and the bill contained a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise and allowing the people of the Territories to decide whether or not they would have slavery. In a letter on this subject written on April 21, 1854, Mr. Bell says: "When I saw all the South going headlong into the support of the measure, and some of my colleagues as zealous as any others, however strange and unaccountable it was to me, I was really desirous of not breaking the ranks; but I found three of my Whig colleagues in the House resolved to go against it, and I finally resolved to obey the dictates of my own judgment and go with them. I could not have voted for the bill in any event, as it contained provisions I was deeply committed against at the last session of Congress..... I thought the proposal to repeal the Missouri Compromise a most foolish and mischievous one The whole movement by Douglas from the first was to get up some counter excitement to call off the public attention from the conduct of the administration..... The Southern Democrats went in for the repeal, I think as a good party move to show the South that, altho' the administration bestowed so many offices on free-soilers and abolitionists, still he (Pierce) was a strong Southern man in his principles. Some of the secession and fire eating Democratic members doubtless went in for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, foreseeing that it would create great excitement at the North, but rejoiced at the thought, as it tended to get up a general agitation which might end in the separation of the Union." The story of the storm of debates in House and Senate on this question is too well known to need repeating. Mr. Bell made on March 3, an exceedingly able speech on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise line, considered by some as the greatest effort of his long and useful career. He based his objections partly on the injustice to the Indians. He says: "I have not heard any of

those who seem on other occasions to have such a superabundant flow of the milk of human kindness—such deep and profound sensibilities awakened whenever the condition of the black is alluded to—say one word when it is proposed to strip the red man of his whole country.....not one is found to raise his voice against such a general spoliation of Indian Rights." The rest of his speech was a logical setting forth of the three propositions: that popular sovereignty could not be established in the territories by an act of Congress, that the passage of the bill before the Senate, attempting it, would produce a great development of the anti-slavery sentiment at the North, and that no practical good could come to the South by the repeal of the restriction to slavery extension in the act of 1820. By this speech and his vote against the bill, he did not please his constituents, but it might have been wiser had they followed his words of warning. When the question of the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas was brought up, he once more voted contrary to the way the State Legislature desired, and even ordered him to do. For by a resolution passed February 10, 1858, the Legislature of Tennessee said: "That our Senators in the Congress of the United States are hereby instructed.....to vote for the admission of Kansas as an independent state under what is termed the Lecompton Constitution."

After twelve years of service, he retired from the Senate in March, 1859. We have now come to the last chapter of John Bell's political life, his nomination for President of the United States by the Constitutional party. For seven years, before he retired from the Senate, he had been a man without a party, for the Whig party was dead, and Bell of Tennessee and Crittenden of Kentucky were the sole representatives of this party in Congress. The Constitutional Union party originated chiefly with the friends of General Houston of Texas, who had separated from the Democratic party. So this new party which appeared for the first and last time in 1860, was composed of the remnants of the old-line Whigs and of the American or Know-nothing party, and also many Democrats, too conservative for any faction of their own party and opposed to the Republican doctrine. It is a noteworthy fact that there were few young men among them. They included the most conservative men of the North and South, and many of the most able. The convention met at Baltimore on May 10, 1860. General Houston was Bell's main opponenet, and on the first ballot he was within nine votes of Bell, but on the second ballot Bell was almost

unanimously nominated for president, with Edward Everett for vice-president. This party, thus represented, agreed in its platform to "recognize no political principle other than the constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws," because, as they said, all political platforms were deceptive. In the election they carried the three states, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, and most of Maryland. The electoral vote was thirty-nine, with a popular vote of 646,124. The six months following the election and immediately preceding the war were full of anxiety for Bell and his friends in Tennessee. The governor of Tennessee, Isham G. Harris, was a strong secessionist, and also a man of great ability and determination. The first attempt to take Tennessee out of the Union was unsuccessful, but when Lincoln made his call for volunteers and it became evident that the seceding states were going to be forced to come back into the Union, the situation became intense and Tennessee seceded. Bell approved of her course. Indeed on April 18, 1861, Mr. Bell, in connection with some of his colleagues, issued an address to the people of Tennessee, in which they said: "Tennessee is called upon by the President to furnish two regiments and the state has, through her executive, refused to comply with the call. This refusal of our state we fully approve.....We unqualifiedly disapprove of secession both as a constitutional right, and as a remedy for existing evils.....But should a purpose be developed by the government of over-running and subjugating our brethren of the seceded states, we say unequivocally that it will be the duty of the state to resist at all hazards and at any cost and by force of arms any such purpose or attempt." There is no doubt that these were Mr. Bell's sentiments. He was a Whig and a Union man, but he was a loyal Tennessean and a Southern statesman, and while he loved the Union, he loved his state more, and when he found he could not lead the state he went with it. He never believed that the South could win, but his sense of duty made him stand by it. From this time on there was nothing in life for him. He supported the Confederacy, but took no active part in the war, and after 1861 we do not hear of him as a public man.

Mr. Bell has been greatly blamed for the part he played in the war by Northern writers, particularly Blaine and Greeley. Blaine says: "If Mr. Bell had taken firm ground for the Union, the secession movement would have been to a very great extent paralyzed in the South.....A large share of the re-

sponsibility for the dangerous development of the rebellion must be attributed to John Bell and his half million Southern supporters of the old Whig party. At the critical moment they signally failed." Blaine makes two mistakes. He assigns greater power and influence to Bell and his supporters than they possessed in reality, and he also seems to imply an insincerity on Bell's part. A review of his previous career is sufficient to disprove this accusation; his action in the Kansas-Nebraska bill and Lecompton affairs was both independent and honorable; and it is hardly probable that he would close a life of the most conscientious statesmanship, by an act of insincerity. Rather would we think that it was the sincerest patriotism which led him to lay aside his own cherished sentiments when his state demanded his support.*

*The following are the principal authorities used in the preparation of the foregoing paper:

James Phelan's *History of Tennessee*. Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*. *Congressional Globe*, Vols. v. and viii. *Nashville Daily American*, Jan. 10, 1898. *Montgomery Daily Mail*, July 17, 1860. Benton's *Abridgment of the Debates in Congress*, Vol. xii. Burgess's *Middle Period*. *Sixteenth Section of the Bank Act*. Dixon's *True History of the Missouri Compromise and its Repeal*. Wilson's *Rise and Fall of Slave Power in America*, Vol. 11. J. F. Rhodes' *History of the United States*. *Olympian Magazine*, April 1903. Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*. McClure's *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*.

THE CRAWFORDS, 1643-1903.

Contributed BY EDWARD AIKEN CRAWFORD, Midway, Fla.

I. John Crawford, the first of the name and blood to reach these shores, was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in the year 1600, and landed at Jamestown,, Virginia, in 1643. His only child, David, came with him, his wife having died some years previously in Scotland. He was killed during "Bacon's Rebellion," in 1676.

II. David Crawford was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1625, and married in James City County, Virginia, in 1654. We do not know the name or history of his wife, but their children were; Elizabeth, m. Nicholas Meriwether; 2; Judith m. Robert Lewis; 3. Angelina, m. William McGuire; 4. Capt. David, m. Elizabeth Smith; and 5. John, m. ——. His infant daughter Angelina was baptized Nov. 2nd, 1689, and he died Dec. 13th, 1689. Church records show these facts, and nothing more is known concerning the family.

III. Capt. David Crawford was born in 1662, m. Elizabeth Smith in 1695; d. in 1762, aged a few months more than 100 years. Their children were: 1. David, m. Ann Anderson; 2.

*Mr. Crawford has in preparation an exhaustive history of the Crawford family containing a brief account of the Crawfords in Scotland from the founding of the family in 1123, and a history of them in this country from the landing of John Crawford and his son David at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1643 to the present time. The compiler has devoted many years to the collection of data for this work, corresponding with, and securing liable records from hundreds of the descendants of John and David Crawford in all parts of the country, searching church and court-house records, public and private libraries and all other available sources of information. The personal sketches are, for the most part, prepared by writers who had intimate personal knowledge of their subjects, and are, therefore, the more accurate and interesting, and the numerous engravings will include those of Hon. William Harris Crawford, Major Joel Crawford, Hon. Martin Jenkins Crawford, Major John Crawford, Rev. Nathaniel Macon Crawford, Dr. John Lovic Crawford, Rev. William Bibb Crawford, Hon. Bennett Hamilton Crawford, Hon. Nathan Anderson Crawford, Capt. Charles Peter Crawford, Hon. Henry Clay Crawford and many others. The history will be out about Dec. 15, 1903.

Elizabeth, m. James Martin; 3. John, m. Mary Duke; 4. Mary, m. John Rhodes; 5. Judith, m. Joseph Terry; and 6. Michael, m. Elizabeth Terrell, in South Carolina.

IV. (1.) David Crawford was born in 1697, m. Ann Anderson in 1727; d. 1766. Their children were: 1. Susanna, m. Nathaniel Barnett; 2. John, m. (1) Sarah Smith, (2) Elizabeth Moore; 3. Elizabeth, d. unm.; 4. David, m. Lucy Henderson 5. Joel, m. Fanny Harris; 6. Charles, m. Jane Maxwell; 7. Sarah, m. John Jacobs; 8. Mary, m. Charles Yancey; 9. Hon. Nathan, m. (1) Judith Anderson, (2) Margaret Jewell; 10. Peter, d. unm.; 11. Nelson, d. unm.; 12. William, d. unm.; and 13. Ann, m. Rev. Robert Yancey.

(2.) John Crawford was born in 1701, m. Mary Duke in 1724. It is not known when either of them died, but their children were: 1. William, m. Elizabeth Lewis; 2. Elizabeth, n; 3. David, n; 4. Mary, n; and 5. John, n. Nothing is known concerning the history of the last four of these children.

(3.) Michael Crawford was born in 1707, m. Elizabeth Terrell in 1730; d. in 1776. It is believed that they had two daughters also, but the only children of whom there are records were: 1. John Hardy, m. Massie —; 2. James, m. —; and 3. Thomas, m. Elizabeth Alston in Edgecomb County, North Carolina.

V. (1.) John Crawford was born in 1731, m. Sarah Smith in 1755, and Elizabeth Moore in 1767. There were six children by the first marriage and four by the second as follows: 1. Thomas, d. unm; 2. Ann, m. John Gibson; 3. John m. Rebecca Snyder; 4. Elizabeth, m. John Garnett; 5. Sarah, m. Hon. Solomon Marshall; 6. Peter, m. Mary Ann Crawford; 7. William d. unm; 8. Nelson, d. unm; 9. Obadiah, d. unm; and 10. Susana, m. Nathan Benton.

(2.) David Crawford was born in 1734, m. Lucy Henderson in 1756, d. in 1807. Their children were; 1. Capt. John, m. Mary Burroughs; 2. William Sidney, m. Sophia Penn; 3. Nelson, m. Lucy Crawford; 4. Rev. Charles, m. Sarah Lewis; 5. Nathan, d. unm; 6. David, d. unm. 7. Reuben, killed, unm, in war of 1812; 8. Elizabeth, m. Nicholas C. Davies; 9. Ann, m. Roland Jones; and 10. Sarah, m. Thomas W. Cocke.

(3.) Hon. Joel Crawford was born in 1736, m. Fanny Harris in 1760, d. in 1788. Their children were: 1. Ann, m. William Barnett; 2. Robert, m. Elizabeth Maxwell; 3. Joel, m. Ann Barnett, 4; David, m. Mary Lee Woods; 5. Lucy, m. James

Tinsley; 6. William Harris, m. Susanna Gerdine; 7. Elizabeth, m. (1) William Glenn, (2) William Rhymes; 8. Charles, d. unm; 9. Fanny, m. David Crawford; 10. Nathan, d. unm; and 11. Bennett, m. (1) Nancy Crawford, (2) Martha Crawford, sisters of David who m. Fanny Crawford.

(4) Capt. Charles Crawford was born in 1738, m. Jane Maxwell in North Carolina in 1762. Their children were: 1. Anderson, m. Rachel Singersfield; 2. Elizabeth, m. Hon. Joel Barnett; 3. David, d. unm; 4. Mary Ann, m. Hon. Peter Crawford; 5. John, m. Eleanor Attwood; 6. William, m. Alice Strother Allen; 7. Dr. Nathan, m. Mary Marshall; 8. Rhoda, d. unm; Charles, d. unm; and 10. Major Joel, m. Sarah Louisa Rhodes of North Carolina.

(5) William Crawford was born in 1726, m. Elizabeth Lewis in 1747, and it is not known when either of them died. Their children were: 1. Hardy, n; 2. Elizabeth, n; 3. John, n; 4. Sarah, n; and 5. David, n. This is the last known of the "line" of John and Mary (*Duke*) Crawford. It is believed that their descendants went over into Pennsylvania and Ohio, but there is no definite information concerning them.

(6) John Hardy Crawford was born in 1732, m. Massie — in Marion County, South Carolina in 1773, but it is not known when either of them died. They had but one child of whom we have record, namely, James, m. Martha Part.

(7) James Crawford was born in 1734, m. — in 1755, and they had children as follows: 1. Terrell, m. Polly Russell; 2. Michael, m. —; 3. Elizabeth, n; 4. David, n; 5. Mary, n.

(8) Thomas Crawford was born in 1736, m. Elizabeth daughter of William and Ann (*Kimbrough*) Alston in Edgecombe County, North Carolina in 1763, d. in 1791. Their children were: 1. William, m. Delilah Martin; 2. Mary, m. —; 3. John, d. unm; 4. Thomas, m. Martha Coleman; 5. Grizelle Yancey, m. (1) — Hawkins, (2) Sion Boone; 6. Hardy, d. unm; 7. Elizabeth, m. —; 8. David, m. Fanny Crawford; 9. Nancy, m. Bennett Crawford; 10. Sarah Yancey, m. Joshua Boone; and 11. Martha, m. Bennett in 1816 after the death of her sister Nancy.

VI. (1.) Hon. Peter Crawford was born in 1765; m. Mary Ann Crawford in 1791, and d. in 1830. Their children were: 1. Charles, n; 2. Eliza, d. unm; 3. Harriet Elizabeth, m. William Francis Jackson; 4. Hon. George Washington, m. Mary Ann McIntosh; 5. Jane, m. William H. Torrance; 6.

Thomas, d. unm; 7. William d. unm; and 8. Maria, m. William J. Rhodes.

(2.) Hon. William Sidney Crawford was born in 1760; m. Sophia Penn in 1785, and d. in 1817. Their children were: 1. Sarah, m. John Patton; 2. Maria, m. Col. William Edward Fletcher; 3. Henrietta, m. William Fletcher; 4. Elizabeth Helen, m. Hon. Alden Burton Spooner; 5. Van Tromp, n; 6. William Sidney, n; 7. Alexander, n; 8. Gabriella, m. Rev. Chas. Henry Page, of Richmond, Va.; and 9. Julian, n.

(3.) Nelson Crawford was born in 1762, m. Lucy Crawford in 1783, and their children were as follows: 1. Bennett Anderson, m. Hannah Haire; 2. Edmund, d. unm; 3. Richard, d. unm; 4. Judith Anderson, m. Benjamin B. Taliaferro; 5. Elizabeth, d. unm; 6. Ann, d. unm; 7. Nathan, d. unm; 8. Hugh Nelson, d. unm; 9. Lucy, d. unm.

(4.) Robert Crawford was born in 1764, m. Elizabeth Maxwell in 1790, but the date of his or her death is unknown. Their children were: 1. Edward, n; 2. Ann, m. William Cox; 3. Mary, m. Richard C. Walker.

(5.) Joel Crawford was born in 1766, m. Ann Barnett in 1792, and they had only one child, namely, Susan Ann, m. Daniel McDowell.

(6.) David Crawford was born in 1767, m. Mary Lee Woods in 1793, d. in 1821. Their children were: 1. Robert Harris, m. Mary Winn Jennings; 2. Maria, d. unm; 3. James Berrien, d. unm; 4. Caroline Matilda, d. unm; 5. Emily, d. unm; 6. Mary, d. unm; 7. William Harris, m. (1) Cecelia Freeman, (2) Mrs. McLendon, (3) Mary Elizabeth Long; 8. Frances Ann, m. Cyrus Sharp; 9. Benjamin Franklin, m. Rebecca Ammons; and 10. John Anderson, m. Emily Elizabeth Hill.

(7.) Hon. William Harris Crawford, distinguished statesman, was born in Amherst County, Va., Feb. 24, 1722, m. Sunsanna Gerdine in 1804, d. in Elbert County, Ga., Sept. 15, 1834. Their children were: 1. Caroline, m. George Mortimer Dudley; 2. John, m. Sarah Eaton Bass; 3. Ann, d. unm; 4. Rev. Nathaniel Macon, m. Ann Lazer; 5. Rev. William Harris, m. Caroline E. Thomas; 6. Robert, d. unm; 7. Susanna, d. unm; and 8. Rev. William Bibb, m. Mary Knight.

(8.) Bennett Crawford was born in 1786, m. Nancy Crawford in 1808 and Martha Crawford, her sister, in 1816, and died in 1845. There were three children by the first marriage and four by the second as follows: 1. Hardy Glenn, m. Jane Lane; 2. Elizabeth Adeline, m. Henry Lewis; 3. William

Thomas, m. Alabama Reviere; 4. Robert Alston, d. unm; 5. Frances Ann, d. unm; 6. Benjamin Franklin, d. unm; and 7. Nancy Harriet, m. John P. Dickenson.

It will be observed from the foregoing that I have only traced the families of the Crawford male lines, reserving the daughters for another article, an arrangement which will enable those not familiar with the family history to trace the several branches with greater ease and accuracy.

As stated, the above are the descendants of John and David Crawford, father and son, who came from Ayrshire in 1634.

In 1670 the brothers, George and William Crawford, kinsmen of John and David, came from Lanarkshire, and George located with his family of three sons (John, William, and Alexander) in South Norfolk Parish, Virginia, while William went over into Delaware shortly after landing, and there married a Huguenot lady of distinguished lineage. Their descendants went, for the most part, into Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and further west, one of them now residing in Clifton, Arizona. Those of George and his sons John, William and Alexander, came south into the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, and I have many letters, Bible records, and other data from and about them which I will take up after having finished with the descendants of John and David Crawford who came from Louisa County Virginia to Alabama in 1810 and was successively a United States Commissioner, Attorney, and District Judge, was descended from "The Two Brothers" (George and William) of whom most of the Crawfords of earlier times had heard, and to whom many of my correspondents of the present day refer.

MISSISSIPPI NEWSPAPER FILES IN THE LIBRARY
OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SO-
CIETY, WORCESTER, MASS.*

Carrollton.

Mississippi Democrat. w.
December 22, 1848.

Charleston.

The Tallahatchian. w.
February 16, 1867.

Corinth.

The Young Reader.
March 15, 1877 (Amateur copy) 8vo.

Holly Springs.

The Mississippi Times.
January 18, February 1, April 20, 1854.

Huntsville.

(Mississippi Territory, now in Alabama.)

Madison Gazette. w.
October 19, 1813.

Jackson.

The Daily Mississippian. d.
June 20, 21, July 5, 1862

Meridian.

The Daily Clarion. d.
August 30, 1863.

*This list was compiled by Miss Mary Robinson, assistant librarian, for the Alabama Department of Archives and History, and is presented here through the courtesy of Thomas M. Owen, the Director of the Department.

A list of Alabama files in the library was given in this *Magazine* May, 1903, Vol. i, pp. 425-7.

Natchez.

Mississippi Herald and Natchez City Gazette.

January 14, 21, 1803, May 19, 23, 28, 30, 1804.

Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette.

March 25, 1807.

Mississippi Herald and Natchez Repository.

July 18, 1803.

The Mississippi Messenger. w.

September 7, 1804.

October, 12, 19, 26, 1804.

November 2, 9, 23, 30, 1804.

January 18, 25, 1805.

February 8, 1805.

March 15, 29, 1805.

April 26, 1805.

June 7, 1805.

July 19, 1805.

August 16, 30, 1805.

September 6, 1805.

October 29, 1805.

November 5, 1805.

June 2, 16, 1807.

July 7, 14, 1807.

September 22, 1807.

November 26, 1807.

March 24, 1808.

July 7, 1808.

Mississippi Republican. w.

April 23, May 20, 1812.

October 20, 1813.

January 26, 1814.

May 24, 1815.

April 9, 1818.

March 23, 1819.

The Mississippian. w.

December 22, 29, 1808.

January 19, February 2, 1809.

March 9, 16, 23, 1809.

May 1, 15, 29, 1809.

August 14, 1809.

May 14, 1810.

June 4, 1810.

August 20, 27, 1810.

September 10, 1810.

Natchez, Gazette. s. w.

August 5, 10, 17, 26, 31, 1808.

September 2, 7, 9, 14, 1808.

The Natchez Gazette. w.

July 28, 1813.

The Natchez Gazette and Mississippi General Advertiser. w.

June 20, 27, 1811.
July 4, 1811.
August 1, 15, 22, 1811.
September 5, 26, 1811.
October 10, 31, 1811.
November 14, 1811.
December 26, 1811.
January 9, February 13, 1812.
March 5, 26, 1812.
April 2, May 7, 1812.

Southern Galaxy. w.

June 12, December 13, 1823.

The Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer. w.

July 31, 1816.
September 11, 1816.
June 14, 1817.

The Weekly Chronicle. w.

July 6, September 7, 1808.
October 12, November 2, 16, 1808.
December 14, 28, 1808.
January 11, 25, 1809.
February 22, 1809.
March 1, April 5, 1809.
May 6, 13, 1809.
June 3, 17, 1809.
May 28, 1810.
June 25, 1810.
July 2, 16, 1810.
August 13, 27, 1810.
September 10, 1810.
October 8, 1810.
November 5, 12, 1810.
December 31, 1810.
January 7, 21, 28, 1811.
February 11, March 4, 1811.
April 8, 1811.

Ship Island.

News Letter. Extra.

May 2, 1862 (Amateur copy) 8vo.

Vicksburg.

Vicksburg Register. d.

January 2, 1828.

Vicksburg Register. w.

December 17, 1835.

The Daily Citizen.

July 2, 1863.

(The last newspaper published in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on the day previous to the surrender of the Confederate forces under General Pemberton, to the Union forces under General Grant.)

Vicksburg Republican. s. w. and w.

June 12, 25, 28, 1867.

July 9, 12, 16, 18, 26, 30, 1867.

August 2, 9, 13, 20, 23, 27, 30, 1867.

September 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 1867.

December 31, 1867.

January 14, 1868.

Vicksburg Weekly Republican. w.

March 31, 1868.

THE CRAWFORD-BURNSIDE DUEL.

BY WILLIAM B. COLLINS, of Thomson, Ga.

Every student of the history of Georgia has read of the fierce struggles that rent the State in twain, and caused much bickering, and oftentimes bloodshed, in the contests for supremacy of two political parties—one led by George Michael Troup the other by John Clarke. During these troublous times, there occurred an event which resulted in the death of one man and was a source of life-long regret to another. This was the duel fought by George Washington Crawford and Thomas Edgehill Burnside.

Before entering into the details of this unfortunate affair, it is proper to give an account of the causes that led to it. Hon. Peter Crawford, a descendant of an old and highly distinguished Virginia family, was a prominent citizen of Columbia county, and one of the leaders of the Troup party. He was, while brave and fearless, a gentleman of a very pleasant and suave demeanor, and not at all disposed to provoke a quarrel. There lived also in this county Colonel Zachariah Williams, an equally strong supporter of the Clarke faction. He was a man of vigorous, native intellect, but of limited education, an extreme partisan, and one who was ready at all times to commence a difficulty. Peter Crawford, from his influential position in the councils of the opposing party, was an object of the Colonel's bitter dislike. *The Augusta Chronicle and Advertiser* was the recognized organ of the Clarkites, as this element was sometimes styled, while *The Sentinel*, also published in Augusta, upheld the banner of Troup. The tone of the editorials and other matter that appeared in their columns was emphatic, to say the least. In the midst of this heated newspaper discussion, an anonymous communication, severely abusive of Mr. Crawford, appeared in *The Chronicle and Advertiser*, and handbills containing it were printed and freely circulated. Unused and opposed, as he was, to this covert mode of attack, for a time the latter hesitated. Finally however, stung to the quick and filled with just indignation, he replied in an article signed by himself, manfully repelling the assault made upon him. A bitter and satirical rejoinder followed from his unknown enemy.

Who wrote the articles reflecting upon Mr. Crawford will

probably never be known with certainty. According to some, they were the work of a lady, whose name has never been given to the public. Others claim Colonel Williams as their author. Be the case as it may, Mr. Burnside, who has been before referred to, and who was a young lawyer of much promise residing at Appling, the county seat of Columbia county, assumed the responsibility of their origin. This was the latter part of the year 1827.

After the appearance of the last manifesto of the Clarkites, Colonel Williams, while on a visit to Augusta, indulged in a street denunciation of Mr. Crawford and of his son, George W. Crawford, branding the latter as a coward. The younger Crawford was engaged in the practice of law in Augusta, had risen to eminence in his profession, and was now Attorney General of the State. The remarks of Colonel Williams soon came to his ears, and the result was he made a demand for personal satisfaction of Mr. Burnside. The challenge was promptly accepted, and Fort Mitchell, in Russell county, Alabama, (then in the Lower Creek nation), was selected as the place for the duel. Pistols were to be used. Colonel Alfred Cumming, of Augusta, was chosen by Mr. Crawford as his second, and Dr. Ambrose Baber, of Macon, as his physician. For his second, Mr. Burnside selected Mr. Thomas Triplett, of Wilkes county, and as his physician, Dr. William A. L. Collins, of Columbia county.

There were no railroads in Georgia in those days, and the journey to the duelling ground had to be made by stage. Early in 1828, Mr. Crawford and Colonel Cumming boarded the stage coach in Augusta. At the White House (then a well known inn, the site of which is now in McDuffie county), on the Milledgeville road, Mr. Burnside and his friends joined them, and the hostile parties on their ill-fated errand, travelled together across the State to Fort Mitchell.

The duel occurred on the morning of January 5, 1828. When the parties arrived on the field, Mr. Triplett, who had been chosen by Mr. Burnside as his second, asked to be excused from acting in that capacity, and on the plea that having nearly lost his life during a late affair of honor in which he held that position, he had recently made to his wife a solemn vow never again to serve. Dr. Stephen M. Ingersoll, who resided in what is now Phoenix City, Ala., was then selected in his stead.

The ground was now measured off and a line drawn, inside of which were the two principals, their friends, and a crowd

of whites and Indians. The parties being placed in position and the word given, two pistol shots rang out, Mr. Crawford firing first. The bullet from Burnside's pistol struck the ground just in front of his opponent, throwing dust and sand all over his face. Otherwise no one was hurt.

At this juncture Mr. Triplett asked permission to confer with the parties. His request was granted. He said he came bearing the olive branch of peace, which he thought could be honorably accepted. He insisted that honor had now been vindicated and that there was no necessity to longer continue the combat. Mr. Crawford and his second, Colonel Cumming, thereupon stepped aside and held a short conversation. Returning, the latter answered that Mr. Crawford would accept the proposition of peace if Mr. Burnside would apologize and withdraw the offensive language used by him. Mr. Burnside refused to accede to these conditions, so the duel went on. A second exchange of shots took place, but neither of the principals was struck, and Mr. Triplett again demanded a conference, which was accorded him, but which was as unsuccessful as the first. For the third time the parties took their positions. Both fired at the same time, and Mr. Burnside was observed to bend slightly forward. One of his friends sprang quickly to his relief and saw that he had been shot through the heart. He fell into the arms of this gentleman, dying instantly. Mr. Crawford, with his friends, immediately retired.

The body of Burnside was interred in the family burial ground of Colonel John Crowell, a strong personal friend, who resided at Fort Mitchell, and there it rests today. He left a wife and three small children, all sons. A few years after his death his family removed to Dahlonga, Lumpkin county, in the northeastern portion of the State.

Although he had emerged unharmed from this deplorable affair, which had been forced upon him, its sad result was a cause of continual unhappiness to Mr. Crawford, and the wife and children on whom had fallen so great a loss, remained, through life, objects of his fondest solicitude. Although the necessity had appeared to him urgent, and there had seemed no other way of settling the difference, yet duelling was prohibited by the law of Georgia, and as the Attorney General of the State, it was, in a peculiar degree, his duty to have respected that prohibition. His subsequent career is well known. As a member of the Legislature and of Congress, twice Governor of the State, Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Taylor, and Presi-

dent of the Georgia Secession Convention in 1861, he filled each and every position worthily and well. He died at his home at Belair, in Richmond county, on July 22, 1872, leaving a reputation alike honorable to State and nation.

A few words as to him who fell in this unfortunate encounter, and this sketch closes. Born in South Carolina, and springing from family of high respectability, he was, after due preparation, called to the bar in his native State. Very soon he established himself in Georgia, where his talents and industry pointed to a life of great future usefulness. But entering politics, he lent his name and influence to measures that were decidedly questionable and calculated to create strife. Unduly biased by the fear of public opinion, perhaps he rejected all overtures of compromise, and descending to an early grave, he left a legacy of grief to his family and friends.

DOCUMENTS.

Through the courtesy of Dr. U. B. Phillips, of the University of Wisconsin, the following copies of papers in the Draper MSS. in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, are presented. They illustrate various phases of life one hundred years ago.

The last illustrates the activity of the settlers in Ohio in establishing varied industries, in contrast with the uniform agricultural pursuits in the South.

I. BILL FOR NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING, KENTUCKY.

(Draper Collection, Vol. 3, No. 110.)

Colonel Robert Patterson, [of Lexington, Ky.].			
1796.	To James H. Stewart, Dr.		
Aug. 30.	To Adv. of a negro boy	£o	10 6
Sept. 1.	To Do. a wench & Children	o	3 0
1797 Feb. 7.	To Do. calling in Debts	1	8 6
"	To Do. a likely Negro Wench....	1	8 6
1798 Sept. 25	To Do. Walkers Heirs or Representatives	o	6 0
Decr. 24	To Do. for a person to refine Sugar	1	13 0
	To 5½ years Subscription for N Paper	4	2 6
1799 Cr.	By Cash on Subscribing....	£o	7 6
	By Do.	o	18 0
Feb. 13.	By Do. from G. Anderson..	1	8 0
		2	13 6
Balance Due		6	18 6

Dear Sir,

I have stated your account above as it stands on my Books; if any mistake in it you will please to rectify it. — I would not at this time trouble you, but am myself very hard pushed.— For in the course of the present month, I have between 4 & 500 dollars to pay. Your attention to this request will confer a particular obligation, on

Yours sincerely,

Jas. H. Stewart.

Col. Robert Patterson.

18th August, 1800.

II. KENTUCKY BROADSIDE.

(Draper Collection, Vol. 3, No. 122.)

(No Date.)

200 Dollars Reward.

The above sum will be given to any person who will give information to either of the Subscribers, by which they may be enabled to discover the mother of a Female Child, left at the door of James Morrison, in Lexington, on the morning of the 9th instant.—They pledge themselves in the most sacred manner, not to divulge the name of the person giving the information, if required to keep it secret. They will receive information either verbally, or through the medium of a letter, addressed to either of them, by post; and on the fact being ascertained, the money shall be transmitted in bank notes to the address required, and no questions asked—Or, if the mother will come forward, the above sum will be given to her, or appropriated to the support and education of the child, as she may think proper.

The above reward is offered with a view of rescuing the reputation of several innocent females from the unjust suspicion of being the mother of the child. It is a primary duty with every honest citizen, to do justice, and to relieve the innocent from aspersions calculated to wound the reputation, which, to a female of delicacy and sensibility, is dearer than life. Under these circumstances, the subscribers have the utmost confidence, that exertions will be used to discover the mother, and give them the information required.

Henry Clay,
W. Macbean,
Thos. Hart, jun.
John W. Hunt,
John Bradford,
Alex. Parker,
John Jordan, jun.
James Maccoun,
William West,
Geo. Anderson,

J. Postlethwait,
Will. Norton,
Sam. Brown,
James Brown,
James Morrison,
Thos. Bodley,
Jas. Fishback,
Thomas Wallace,
John Pope,
W. Warfield.

III. EARLY INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS.

(Draper Collection, Vol. 3, No. 100)

Dayton Feb. 15th 1804.

Sir.

Yesterday Mr. Hopkins arrived & handed me your's of the 14th & 3d. Instant, tomorrow Morning I will lay off the Garden for Thomas agreeable to your request, and will endeavour to prevent his getting too much Whiskey. he is very well pleased, with the grounds. Mr. Hopkins will get his business so arranged, that he can commence Shoe making next week, and if he had two Journey Men he would have business for them.

You observe in one of your letters that Mr. Alex. Smith would build a Paper Mill in this Country, if he could get a good seat; I do not know of any near this, but should be he disposed to commence the business this season. I. will join him, at this place, it is what I have had in view, & nothing but the Idea of having too much business on hands, prevents my starting it this summer. Colo. Chamber's urged me to send to Kentucky to get Mr. Smith to do all my Work. and I should have done it, but I was informed that he had declined the business. I would thank you to make known to him my Situation for Water work's and know of him if it would not answer to come over this Spring and complete my Mills, And write me on the subject the first opportunity.

If you have the printing press and types I will join you in it and start the business here next summer. provided you can get some trusty person to carry it on. please to subscribe for me to a Lexington paper. and have it sent on by post. to Dayton post. Office, Ohio—be so good as to inform Doct. Welsh and Mr. Patten that I will write them in few days and inform them concerning their houses. And the requests which you have made I will endeavour to comply with. I am Sir with

Sentiments of Esteem

Colo. Patterson.

yours & D. C. Cooper

The Legislature has done nothing in the County contest nor will they. unless it can be proved that the Commissioners acted Corruptly. which they have failed to do. I will have a public sale of lots the first day of our Court which is the 4th Tuesday in Next Month. I enclose an advertisement. if you think it will be of any service. have it put in the papers. Mr. Reed's house will be leased this Month.

MINOR TOPICS.

MANDEVILLE'S MEMOIRE SUR LA LOUISIANE.

One of the very rare books on early Southern history is the following:

Memoire sur la Louisiane par M. de Marigny de Mandeville. Paris; Imprimé chez Guillaume Desprès, Rue S. Jacques, 1765.

I have recently been greatly impressed with the notion that this book is of especial importance for the early history of Alabama.

(1) The elder Marigny de Mandeville must have been among the first-comers; for as early as 1709 he wrote to the French minister a letter of complaint against Bienville. (Gayarré: *Histoire de la Louisiane*: I, 90).

(2) He was the first commandant of Fort Toulouse, in 1714, (Gayarré, I, 115.)

(3) He came back from France in 1722, having obtained the cross of the order of St. Louis, and the appointment of commandant of Fort Condé. (Gayarré, I, 115.)

(4) According to the "Plan de la Ville et Fort Louis de la Louisiane" in 1711, (printed in Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 70 seq.), he had a residence on the South side of Fort Condé.

(5) Hamilton, in *Colonial Mobile*, p. 108, says that he died about 1727. He does not give his authority for this statement, but I doubt not that it is true.

The son of the first Marigny de Mandeville, whose name (the son's) was Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville, was the author of the above named work.

In 1740 he was twenty-one (21) years old. I find in a memorandum on some officers of Louisiana written by Bienville in 1740 and printed by Gayarré (I, 358) in the list of "Officiers Reformes" the name of Philippe with the following note: "Fils d' un ancien capitaine du pays. Il sert depuis quatre ans avec application. Sage.—21 ans."

If Philippe was twenty-one years of age in 1740, he must have been born about 1719, possibly in France, but probably at his father's house in Mobile. At any rate he was reared in Louisiana, his early years being spent in Mobile, his later ones in New Orleans.

In 1763 Philippe Marigny de Mandeville was broken of his military office by Kerlerec, Governor of Louisiana, and sent back

to France in disgrace (Gayarré, II, 121.) He is spoken of in the highest terms by Bossu, writing from New Orleans in June, 1762. (*Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, II, 151.) "Cet officer a fait, a ses frais, la decouverte de le pays inconnu, avec in zèle infatigable," etc.

It is passing strange that Mandeville's *Memoire* is never quoted or even referred to by any of the writers on the History of Louisiana. Surely it must be valuable.

Wm. S. Wyman.

University of Alabama.

SPANISH VIEW OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

As we summon the nations to celebrate with us the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase, we are apt to forget that to one of the invited guests the anniversary recalls anything but cheerful memories. In the May number of *La Espana Moderna*, Sr. Jerinimo Becker, Archivist of the Ministry of State, gives the history of the cession from a Spanish point of view. He rehearses in detail the familiar story of the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1763 in compensation for the loss of Florida to England, and of the tricky bargain by which Napoleon recovered the territory with six men-of-war to boot, in return for the bestowal upon the Duke of Parma of the improvised "Kingdom of Etruria," Napoleon pledging himself never to alienate the Territory to a third Power. According to Sr. Becker, Talleyrand even went so far as to assure the Spanish government, in return for the sum of \$1,000,000 duly paid and another million promised, that the cession was to be merely ostensible, and that Spain might keep her province, after all! Three years later, the unscrupulous First Consul had sold Louisiana to the Americans; the Americans were laying claims to the Floridas as a part of their purchase; and the "Kingdom of Etruria" was still dominated by French bayonets. No wonder that Sr. Becker calls our joyful anniversary "a very sad date." A curious sequel to the story is that, in 1815, the Spanish ministry entertained hopes of regaining Louisiana by the action of the Congress of Vienna. Labrador, the Spanish emissary, was urged to make every effort for restitution. Of this project he easily saw the futility, but he devised an ingenious plan of recovery of his own. The English, he wrote on February 13, were now in possession of New Orleans (or so it was believed in Vienna), and thereby virtually

in occupation of the entire Territory. Though they were bound by the treaty of Ghent to respect the American possessions of Louisiana, this must be distasteful to them and perhaps they would prefer to hand it over to Spain. The Duke of Wellington, he added, had personally expressed his approval of this arrangement. Of course, when this scheme was broached at London, it led to nothing. Sr. Becker has not forgiven France, but he nowhere expresses any resentment at the conduct of America. A curious limitation in his treatment of the whole historical question is that he seems to regard it solely as a matter of diplomacy and of documentary title, and closes his eyes on the fact that, whether Spanish rulers and statesmen were weak or strong, foolish or wise, their authority within the present boundaries of the United States was inevitably destined to be swept away by the tide of American expansion.—*The Nation*, New York, June 11, 1903.

THE "WASHINGTON BERRIEN EAGLE" OF THE GEORGIA SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI.

After a sleep of nearly a hundred years "the Society of the Cincinnati" of the State of Georgia on the 23rd of February, (the 22nd being Sunday), held its annual meeting in the Court house in the city of Savannah, Ga. The 22nd being Washington's birthday, was the day appointed for the annual meetings. General Washington was the first president general of the parent Society. After the transaction of business the society adjourned to the DeSoto Hotel to partake of a most eloquent banquet. Governor Terrell, the guest of honor, with Adjutant General Robertson and twelve members, attended the banquet.

The Flags of the General Society, of the Georgia Society, and of the original Society all floated from "the DeSoto." These flags had been on exhibition for several days at a city store. They had attracted a good deal of attention and had been greatly admired. One is of a white background with blue strips and the thirteen stars, representing the original states, in the corner; the other is a white flag and bears the words "Society of the Cincinnati 1783." In the center between these flags is a fac simile of the "*Eagle*" presented to Major John Berrien, secretary of the Society of the Concinnati in the State of Georgia, by General George Washington. This "*Eagle*" is now known as the

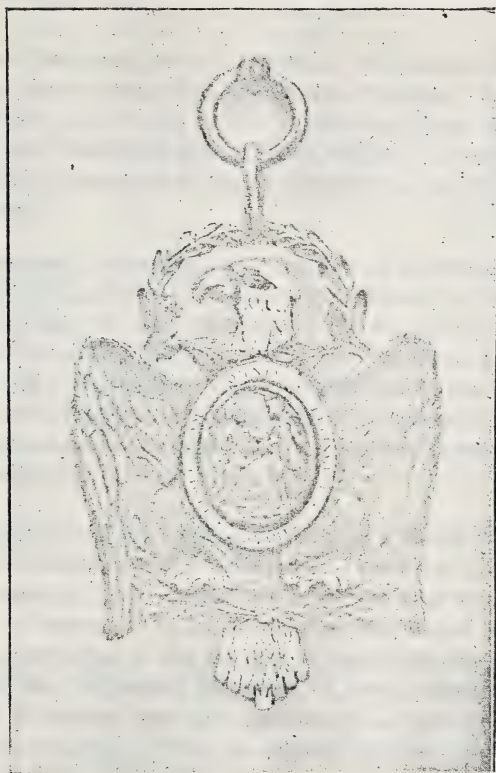
"Washington Berrien Eagle." A die has been made from it by Tiffany and it has been adopted by the Georgia Society as their "Eagle." It was first proposed to call it the Georgia Berrien Eagle, but as Major John Berrien had been decorated by the hand of General George Washington with this badge, the name of "Washington Berrien Eagle" was considered most appropriate.

Mr. Thomas Savage Clay of New York City, a Georgian by birth, and a member of the Georgia Society, a descendant of the rebel paymaster, had the die cut, and has by request, presented fac simile photographs of this "Eagle" to the New York, the Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia Societies of the Cincinnati, to the New York Historical Society, to the New York and Georgia Societies of Colonial wars, and to all the Societies of the D. A. R. in Georgia. Major John Berrien passed through the different chairs from Secretary to President of the Society and wore this Eagle. In 1800 we find him President of the Society and Treasurer of the State of Georgia. He occupied many other places of honor and trust. He was the son of Chief Justice Berrien of New Jersey, and the father of Senator John MacPherson Berrien of Georgia to whom the Eagle descended. In January, 1776, we find John Berrien, age fifteen, commissioned by John Hancock, President of Congress, as 2nd Lieutenant in Georgia's first battalion of the Continental Army. He rose to the rank of Brigade Major, and history tells us that he served with distinction on the staff of General Lachlan McIntosh at Germantown, Valley Forge and elsewhere. He was wounded in the head by a ball from a British musket at Monmouth.

This "Eagle" has descended to me, his great-grandson, through my mother who was the oldest daughter of Senator John MacPherson Berrien, who left no descendants by his name. I prize the Eagle very highly. Some years ago I was having a painting made from Major Berrien's miniature, and as the Eagle was indistinct on his military coat, at the request of the artist I lent him this badge. Imagine my chagrin one day to find my artist had taken French leave and his studio closed. I found he had bought a ticket to Montgomery, Ala., and I wired my friend and class-mate, Hon. Clifford Lanier, who next day had the artist arrested and procured my Eagle, but the scoundrel had picked out the jewels which I did not ascertain until he had left Montgomery.

Wm. Berrien Burroughs.

Brunswick, Ga.



THE WASHINGTON BERRIEN EAGLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SENATOR THOMAS H. WILLIAMS OF MISSISSIPPI.—Descendants of Thomas Hill Williams, who was in the U. S. Senate from Mississippi, 1817-1831, and 1838-39, are requested to supply a biographical sketch of him for these pages.

EASTERN BOUNDARY OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.—I would like to know the eastern limit of the Louisiana Purchase. Did it extend to the Perdido river, South of the 31 degrees North latitude? If so, why are not Mississippi and Alabama entitled to a place in the coming centennial exercises as States embraced in, or affected in part by the purchase?

DR. WALTER L. FLEMING.—The trustees of the University of West Virginia, Morgantown, have called Dr. Walter L. Fleming to the chair of history in that institution. Dr. Fleming is a graduate of Columbia University, and has for the past year been a lecturer there. He has been a contributor to this *Magazine*, and has in preparation an exhaustive History of Reconstruction in Alabama. He is an able writer, a conscientious student, and his election means much for historical enterprise in West Virginia.

WAS MISSISSIPPI THE FIRST TO ESTABLISH A STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN.—The catalogue of the "Mississippi Industrial Institute and College," Columbus, Miss., claims that it is "the first State College ever founded for women." In his *History of Mississippi* for schools, Dr. F. L. Riley says that it was the first college established in the United States for the "industrial education of young women." The latter statement is broader than that claimed by the institution. Are these statements accurate? If not, can any one give an earlier example of educational effort in this direction?

MARCHAND.

Montgomery, Ala.

COLORIED TROOPS IN THE CIVIL WAR.—The free colored population of Pensacola (Florida) have voluntarily taken the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States and organized a military company, numbering thirty-six men, who offer their services for the protection of the city.—From *The Alabama Beacon*, Greensboro, July 19, 1861, reprinted from the *Pensacola Observer*, June 29, 1861,

GEN. JACKSON'S BIRTHPLACE.—Braxton Davenport, in a letter addressed to the Governor of Virginia, asserts, on the authority of two witnesses, whom he considers entirely credible, that General Andrew Jackson was born in Berkley county, Virginia, instead of the Waxhaw settleemnt in South Carolina. He gives the testimony of the two witnesses, a Mrs. Shepherd, and a Mrs. Bedinger, and some explanatory facts, which certainly seem to justify him in claiming for the Old Dominion the honor of the birthplace of the illustrious hero of New Orleans.—From *The Alabama Beacon*, Greensboro, April 13, 1858.

HUNTING RIFLE QUERY ANSWERED.—In answer to the query of W. H. Blake, on page 57 of Vol. i, (July, 1902), of your *Magazine*, I venture to suggest that the inscription has been misread, and that the old hunting rifle was presented to "W. Hale." It can be readily seen how it would read "Whale," if the period is not observed, or if it has been worn away. This solution is more than probable because a William Hale was in the Creek war of 1812. He was an early settler in the Tennessee valley, and the rather curious statement is made in *Northern Alabama Illustrated*, p. 764, that "Messrs Hale and Hunt settled Huntsville and drew straws as to who should name the town. Mr. Hunt pulled the longest straw and named the place Huntsville, for himself." William Hale was the grandfather of Messrs. Fred S. and Charles W. Ferguson, lawyers of Birmingham, Ala. In all my reading and research I have never seen a reference to an Indian of the name "Whale."

PIONEER.

Birmingham, Ala.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN.—As of public interest in connection with the appeal of Mr. Joseph Lebowich for Benjamin documents (*see this Magazine*, Vol. i. p. 457, May, 1903) I give the following extract from Dr. James M. Callahan's *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (1901,) p. 20, note:

"Mr. Benjamin seems always to have had a desire not to leave behind him any historical material. He also seemed to have an abhorrence of any ransacking of his private papers and correspondence, and a very short time before his death he destroyed all such manuscripts. Some of his correspondence of the period before 1861 may be found *passim* in the archives of the State Department at Washington, but no collection of his private letters is to be found anywhere."

I expect soon to secure the papers left by Colin J. McRae, who was sent to Europe in 1862 as the financial agent of the Confederacy. Mr. McRae resided in Honduras after the war, and was there the business partner of a brother of Mr. Benjamin. It is possible that some letters of interest may be in the collection, which, if received, I shall be glad to place in the hands of Mr. Lebowich.

It is probably worth noting that a fine bust oil portrait of Mr. Benjamin hangs in the Supreme Court room of Louisiana, in the old Cabildo building, New Orleans.

THOMAS M. OWEN.

Montgomery, Ala.

REVOLUTIONARY MONUMENTS IN THE SOUTH.—Information is wanted in regard to Revolutionary Monuments in the South.

HISTORICAL NEWS.

MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held in Yazoo City, Thursday and Friday, April 23 and 24, 1903. At the opening session, Thursday evening, an address of welcome was made by Hon. John Sharp Williams, member of Congress from the Yazoo City district, with a response by Prof. E. L. Bailey, of Jackson. Three sessions were held on Friday, at which several papers were presented. The reports of the officers indicated a sound condition, and the number in attendance evidenced the widespread interest in the work of the Society. Gen. Stephen D. Lee and Dr. F. L. Riley, were re-elected president and secretary, respectively.

This Society is doing excellent work. See previous issues of this *Magazine* for reference to its meetings and publications. (Vol. i. pp. 63-77, and 465.)

PORTRAIT OF JUDGE WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN PRESENTED TO THE WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.—On June 17, 1903, a life size oil portrait of Judge William McLaughlin was unveiled at the Washington and Lee University. Judge McLaughlin was for a number of years rector of the University, a position he held at the time of his death. The portrait was presented by alumni, and by admirers and friends of the deceased. The presentation speech was made by Hon. A. C. Gordon, of Staunton, Va., and accepted on behalf of the University by the present rector, Rev. Dr. G. B. Strickler, of Richmond.

RELICS OF COL. BURGWYN PRESENTED THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA. The State of North Carolina on June 17, 1903, received the sword, sash and gauntlets of Henry K. Burgwyn, Colonel of the 26th Regiment of North Carolina troops, who fell at Gettysburg. The sword and sash are the gifts of his only sister, Mrs. T. Roberts Baker, and the gauntlets were presented by Wm. H. S. Burgwyn, a brother, of Weldon, N. C. These relics will be placed in the "Hall of History" in the State Capitol.

STATUE UNVEILED AT VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.—The principal event of the commencement exercises of the Virginia Military Institute occurred June 2, 1903, when the heroic bronze statue, "Virginia mourning her dead," executed and presented by Sir Moses Ezekiel, a native born Virginian, was unveiled in the presence of several

thousand people. The monument is commemorative of the part taken by the battalion of cadets of the Virginia Military Institute in the battle of Newmarket, Va., May 15, 1864, when the defeat of the Federal forces was mainly due to the charge and capture of their battery in an orchard by this battalion. Prior to the unveiling, addresses were made in Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hall by Dr. John N. Upshur of Richmond, and by Holmes Conrad of Winchester. The commemoration ode was read by A. C. Gordon of Staunton.

The statue is a mail-clad figure of a woman seated, mourning, upon a piece of breastwork, with her foot resting upon a broken cannon that is overgrown with ivy, and her hands holding a lance reversed. This heroic bronze rests upon a pedestal of limestone, around which are bronze tablets. On the tablets are inscribed the names of the cadets in the battalion. The monument faces the parade grounds and the South. It stands immediately in front of the archway between the Stonewall Jackson Memorial building and the library.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS OF COLONEL TOOMER.—The memorial address of Colonel William M. Toomer, delivered in Waycross, Ga., on April 26, 1902, before the United Confederate Veterans, has been neatly printed in pamphlet form by the Waycross Herald Print. The subject of the address is, "The Flag of Rebellion Floated Not Over the South." The argument deals with Justice Taney's discussion in the Dred Scott case, the statutes of States in New England and the middle west nullifying acts of Congress in order to protect fugitive slaves, and the South's action in defense of the Constitution of the United States.

BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS.

LIFE AND TIMES OF JONATHAN BRYAN. By Mrs. Elizabeth Remshart Redding, of Waycross, Ga., 1903, (16 mo. pp. 97.)

A valuable treatise on the Revolutionary history of Georgia, written to create a fund for the Winnie Davis Monument.

Jonathan Bryan was a direct ancestor of Captain Joseph Bryan, editor of the *Richmond Times*, Richmond, Va. He was a hero worthy of record, and Mrs. Redding has paid a deserved tribute to his memory.

TEXAS A CONTEST OF CIVILIZATION. By George P. Garrison. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903, (16 mo. pp. 320.)

Dr. Garrison is the Professor of History in the University of Texas. He has prepared this book as a terse and scientific study of the salient features of Texas history. The book fulfills his aim "to give a picture of what Texas is, and of the process by which it has become such." It is but slightly annotated, but the author claims to have written "under the keen sense of responsibility for every statement and every reasonable implication." There is a strong attraction not only in the logical grouping of historical facts, but also in the genuinely original linguistic formation of sentences and in the classic parallels which emphasize the pages. The initial chapters tell the story of Spanish settlements and French encroachments with their resultant conflicts until 1762 when France surrendered western Louisiana to Spain; of distant judges and courts dispensing dilatory justice to an eager, restless pioneer people, and the growing spirit of liberty that is ever born of conditions that force self-reliance when Courts or Sovereigns fail of protection. Spain and Mexico both failed to catch the future sweep of history. American emigrants, led by Stephen F. Austin and other empresarios, followed the filibusters, felt the cruel hardships of unprotected border life and the continuous attacks of the Apaches and Comanches, and broke the yoke of Mexican misrule to establish the independence and the Republic of Texas. Then come chapters on "Annexation and Boundaries," "Statehood," "Civil War and Reconstruction," and the "Texas of Today." The last chapter tells the wonderful resources of Texas; the schools, manufactures, railroads, cities, farms, cattle ranches, population, and closes with Texas looking "out upon the twentieth century and all future time brimming with courage, energy and faith."

The book has two maps and a fac simile of the heroic letter of William B. Travis to the people of Texas and all Americans in the world, just before the fall of the Alamo, in which he declares, "I shall never surrender or retreat."

The book lacks both the detail and the comprehensiveness of the works of Yoakum, Brown and others, but its convenient form and scholarly presentation embodying results of latest research make it a work of great interest and value.

SOME TRUTHS OF HISTORY. By Thaddeus K. Oglesby, Atlanta, Ga., 1903. (8 vo. pp. 263.)

\$1.25 net. Mail orders 9 cents extra.

In this book Mr. Oglesby presents "a vindication of the South against the Encyclopedia Britannica and other maligners." It would be difficult to find in another volume of its size so much evidence of Southern leadership in everything that conserves the civilization and aggrandizement of our common country. To refute the charges of the Encyclopedia Britannica that, "since the Revolution days the few thinkers of America born South of Mason and Dixon's line—outnumbered by those belonging to the single State of Massachusetts—have commonly migrated to New York or Boston in search of a university training," and that "in the world of letters, at least, the Southern States have shown by reflected light; nor is it too much to say that mainly by their connection with the North the Carolinas have been saved from sinking to the level of Mexico or the Antilles;" that Southern literature "has only flourished freely on a free soil, and for almost all its vitality and aspirations we must turn to New England," etc., Mr. Oglesby draws some vivid contrasts between "the great thoughts and great deeds" of the North and the South. His long list of Southern statesmen, warriors, jurists, scientists, poets, prose writers, explorers, churchmen, educators, inventors, discoverers, physicians, surgeons, architects, musicians, painters, chess-players, tragedians, dramatists and journalists, is a veritable *multum in parvo* of historical information. He attributes to the genius and greatness of the South; the first post-graduate medical school in the United States—the New York Polyclinic and Hospital—established by Dr. John A. Wyeth of Alabama; the first man in the United States to receive the Doctor of Medicine degree, Dr. John Archer of Maryland; the first professor of pathological and surgical anatomy, Dr. John Wagner of South Carolina; and many other first things leading to the great institutions and enterprises of the world. He gives records of United Confederate Veteran camps condemning the Encyclopedia Britannica, recounts American deeds of daring, criticises favorably Greg's *History of the United States*, summarizes the life and character of Alexander H. Stephens, tells of the shackling of Jefferson Davis by Gen. Nelson A. Miles and interlines every narrative with historical incidents which add largely to the interest of the book. The subject matter is the enlarged reproduction, in connection with new facts, of the author's articles published in *The Montgomery Advertiser* (1891), *The New York Tribune* (1898), *The Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, 1894, 1895), *The Picayune* (New Orleans, 1895), *Magazine of American History* (June, 1889), *the Union and Recorder* (Milledgeville, Ga., 1883), *the Macon Telegraph*, (1902), *The Atlanta Journal* (1902), and other publications.

AMERICAN AUTHORS. A Hand-Book of American Literature from Early Colonial to Living Writers. By Mildred Rutherford. Athens, Georgia, 1894. (8 vo. pp. xxxix, 654.)

A valuable reference volume for the general reader, and an admirably arranged text-book. In it Miss Rutherford has given the names, with birthplace, dates of birth and death, of more than three thousand

and American authors. She has indicated by horizontal columns the sovereigns of England and France contemporaneous with important dates in American history. A brief history of American literature is followed by sketches of some one hundred and twenty-five of the most typical authors. With rare judgment and discrimination Miss Rutherford has selected the representative writers of the different periods from all sections of the country, thereby adding to the interest and value of the historical merits of her book. She has presented in readable form the lives and labors of authors, giving in connection therewith the criticisms of eminent people, the titles to works produced, and a "History Review" which requires a considerable amount of collateral reading in American history. The memoirs, illustrations, the *Revolutionary Songs and Ballads*, and *Well-known Poems, Songs and Hymns and their Authors*, with eight pages of questions and answers upon history and literature, make the work a helpful compendium of information.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS. Compiled under the Direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief of Division of Bibliography. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903. 4to pp. 14.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON OLD AGE AND CIVIL SERVICE PENSIONS. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 18.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 15.

SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 14.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON FEDERAL CONTROL OF COMMERCE AND CORPORATIONS. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 8.

SELECT LIST OF BOOKS (WITH REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS) ON LABOR, PARTICULARLY RELATING TO STRIKES. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 65.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON ANGLO-SAXON INTERESTS. Washington. 1903. 4to. pp. 12.

SELECT LIST OF REFERENCES ON THE NEGRO QUESTION. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 28.

SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON THE CABINETS OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA. Washington, 1903. 4to. pp. 8.

A LIST OF BOOKS (WITH REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS) ON MERCANTILE MARINE SUBSIDIES. Washington, 1903. 4to pp. 100.

Through the division of bibliography, under the able direction of Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, the Library of Congress continues its special or subject bibliographies. The foregoing are the most recent issues. While they make no claim to completeness, they are sufficiently full to meet all of the demands of the ordinary inquirer. These bibliographies, together with those published monthly in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, place in easy reach of the student and investigator select lists of references on a multitude of subjects, and thus render more easy and ready the explanation of a given topic.

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. II, No. 2. MONTGOMERY, ALA., SEPTEMBER, 1903. Whole No. 8

THE FORMATION OF THE UNION LEAGUE IN ALABAMA.

BY WALTER L. FLEMING, West Virginia University.

The Union League movement began in the North in 1862 when the outlook for the Northern cause was gloomy. The moderate policy of the Washington government had alienated the extremists; the Confederate successes in the field and Democratic successes in the elections; the active opposition of the "Copperheads" to the war policy of the administration; the rise of the secret order of the Knights of the Golden Circle in the West opposed to further continuance of the war; the strong Southern sympathies of the higher classes of society; the formation of societies for the dissemination of Democratic and Southern literature; the low ebb of loyalty to the government in the North—especially in the cities; all these causes resulted in the formation of Union Leagues throughout the North.* This movement began among those associated in the work of the United States Sanitary Commission. These people were important neither as politicians nor as warriors, and had sufficient leisure to observe the threatening state of society about them. "Loyalty must be organized, consolidated and made effective," they declared. The movement first took effective form in Philadelphia in the fall of 1862, and in December of that year the Union League of Philadelphia was organized. The members were pledged to uncompromising and unconditional loyalty to the Union, the complete subordination of

*President Jay's Address, March 26, 1868.

Bellows' *History Union League Club*, of New York, 6-9.
Chronicle of Philadelphia Union League, 5-8.

political ideas thereto, and the repudiation of any belief in states' rights. The New York (Union League) Club followed the example of the Philadelphia League early in 1863, and adopted, word for word, its declaration of principles.* Boston, Brooklyn, Chicago, Baltimore, and other cities, followed suit, and soon Leagues were formed in every part of the North. These Leagues were modeled after the Philadelphia plan, and were connected by a loose bond of federation. The "Loyal National League" of New York, an independent organization with thirty branches, was absorbed by the League. These Leagues were social as well as political in their aims. The "Loyal Publication Society" of New York came under the control of the League, and was used to disseminate the proper kind of political literature. As the Federal armies went South, the Union League spread among the disaffected element of the Southern people.† Much interest was taken in the negro and negro troops were enlisted through its efforts. Teachers were sent South in the wake of the armies to teach the negroes, and to use their influence in securing negro enlistments. In this and in similar work the League acted in cooperation with the Freedmen's Aid Society, the Department of Negro Affairs and later with the Freedmen's Bureau.

With the close of the war the Leagues did not cease to take an active interest in things political. It was one of the earliest bodies to declare for negro suffrage and white disfranchisement,‡ and this declaration was repeatedly made during the three years following the war. Its agents were always in the lobbies of Congress clamoring for radical measures. The reconstruction policy of Congress was heartily endorsed and the President condemned.

Part of the work of the League was to distribute campaign literature, and most of the violent pamphlets on reconstruction questions will be found to have the Union League imprint. The New York League alone circulated about 70,000 publica-

**Chronicle of the Union League*, Philadelphia, 5-8.
Bellows' *Union League Club*, 9.

†*First Annual Report of Board of Directors of Union League of Philadelphia*.

Bellows 9, 32.

Chronicle Union League of Philadelphia, 70, 112.

‡See Bellows' *History Union League Club*.

tions,* while the Philadelphia Union League far surpassed this record, circulating 4,500,000 political pamphlets† within eight years.

The literature printed consisted largely of accounts of "Southern Atrocities." The conclusions of Charles Schurz's report on the condition of the South justified the publication and dissemination of such choice yarns as this: A preacher in Bladon (Springs), Alabama, said that the woods in Choctaw County stunk with dead negroes. Some were hanged to trees and left to rot; others were burned alive.‡

Southern "Unionists" who went North were entertained by the Union League, and their expenses paid. In 1866 the Philadelphia Convention of Southern "Unionists" was captured by the League, carried to New York and entertained at the expense of the latter. In 1867 several of the Leagues sent delegates to Virginia to reconcile the two warring factions of Radicals. The formation of the Union League among the Southern "Unionists" was extended throughout the South within a few months of the close of the war, but a "discreet secrecy" was maintained. It was easy for all the disaffected whites, especially those who had been connected with the Peace Society, to join the Union League, which soon included Peace Society men, "loyalists," deserters and many anti-administration Confederates. The most respectable element consisted of a few old Whigs who had an intense hatred of the Democrats and who wanted to crush them by any means. In this stage the League was strongest in the white counties of the hill and mountain country.

The League was continued several years after the war as a kind of Radical Bureau in the Republican party to control the negro vote in the South. Its headquarters were in New York, and it was represented in each state by "state members." John Keffer was "state member" for Alabama.

*Bellows, 90.

†There were 144 different pamphlets published by the Philadelphia League and 44 posters.

56,380 pamphlets were issued in 1865.

867,000 " " " " 1866.

31,906 " " " " 1867.

1,416,906 " " " " 1868.

4,500,000 " " " " in eight years.—*Chronicle*, 106,107.

‡Presumably this preacher, if not a myth, was a missionary.

Chronicle of Union League of Philadelphia, 145.

It is quite likely that such Leagues as that in New York and Philadelphia, after the first year or two of reconstruction, rather grew away from the strictly political "Union League of America" and became more and more social clubs. The spiritual relationship was close, however, and in political belief they were one. The eminently respectable members of the Union Leagues of Philadelphia and New York, had little in common with the Southern Leagues except radicalism.

Horace Greeley was attacked by the League because he had signed the bond of Jefferson Davis. He, in turn, attacked the League in stinging articles in the *Tribune*.*

Even before the end of the war the Federal officials had organized the Union League in Huntsville, Athens, Florence and other places in Northern Alabama. It was understood to be a very respectable order in the North, and General Burke, and later General Crawford, with other Federal officers and a few of the so-called "Union" men of North Alabama, formed Lodges of what was called the Union or Loyal League. At first but few native whites were members, as the native "Unionist" was not exactly the kind of a person the Federal Union Leaguers cared to associate with more than was necessary. With the close of hostilities and the establishment of army posts over the state, the League grew rapidly. The civilians who followed the army, the Bureau agents, the missionaries, and the Northern school teachers were gradually admitted. The native "Unionists" came in as the bars were lowered, and with them that element of the population which during the war, especially in the white counties, had become hostile to the Confederate administration. The disaffected politicians saw in the organizations an instrument which might be used against the politicians of the central counties who seemed likely to remain in control of affairs. At this time there were no negro members, but it has been estimated that in 1865, 40 per cent. of the white voting population in North Alabama joined the Union League, and that for a year or more there was an average of half a dozen Lodges in each county north of the

**Chronicle Union League, Philadelphia*, 169.

Bel'ows, 90, 99, 100, 102.

Reports of the Executive Committee, Union League Club of N. Y., 1865-1866.

Century Magazine, 1884, Vol. vi, pp. 404 and 949.

Black Belt. Later, the local chapters were called Councils. There was a State Grand Council with headquarters at Montgomery, and a Grand National Council with headquarters in New York. The Union League of America was the proper designation for the entire organization.

The White Union Leaguers were few in the Black Belt counties and even in the white counties of Southeast Alabama where one would expect to find them. In Southern Alabama it was disgraceful for a person to have any connection with the Union League, and if a man was a member he kept it secret. To this day no one will admit that he belonged to that organization. So far as the native members were concerned, they cared little about the original purposes of the order, but hoped to make it the nucleus of a political organization, and the Northern civilian membership, the Bureau agents, preachers and teachers and other adventurers, soon began to see the possibility of the organization.*

From the very beginning the preachers, teachers and Bureau agents had been accustomed to gather the negroes around them at times for advice and to make speeches to them. Not a few of them expected confiscation, or some such procedure, and wanted a share in the division of the spoils. Some began to talk of political power for the negro. For various purposes, good and bad, the negroes were, by the end of 1865, largely organized by their would-be leaders, who as controllers of rations, religion and schools, had great influence over them. It was but a slight change to convert these informal gatherings into Lodges, or Councils of the Union League. The early organization of the League was not considered Republican and political so much as a purely mercenary organization for the reception of future plunder from confiscation or governmental appropriation.

After the refusal of Congress to recognize the restoration as effected by the President, the guardians of the negro in the state began to lay their plans for the future. Negro Councils were organized, and negroes were even admitted to some of the

*I am indebted to Prof. L. D. Miller, Jacksonville, Ala., for many details concerning the Loyal Leagues. He made inquiries for me of people who knew the facts. I have also had other oral accounts. See also *Ku Klux Report*, Alabama Testimony, (Pierce) 305; (Lowe) 894; (Forney) 487.

white Councils which were under control of the Northerners. The Bureau gathering of Colonel John B. Callis of Huntsville, was transformed into a League. Such men as the Rev. Lakin, Colonel Callis, D. H. Bingham, all men of questionable character from the North, went about organizing the negroes during 1866 and 1867. The Bureau agents were the directors of the work, and in the immediate vicinity of the Bureau offices they themselves organized the Councils. To distant plantations and to country districts agents were sent to gather in the embryo citizen. *In every community in the state where there was a sufficient number of negroes the League was organized sooner or later.†

In North Alabama, the work was done before the spring of 1867; in the Black Belt and in South Alabama it was not until the end of 1867 that the last negroes were gathered into the fold.

The effect on the white membership of the admission of negroes was remarkable. With the beginning of the manipulation of the negro by his Northern friends, the native whites began to desert the order, and when negroes were admitted for the avowed purpose of agitating for political rights and for political organization afterwards, the native whites left in crowds. Where there were many blacks, as in Talladega, nearly all of the whites left the order. Where the blacks were not numerous and had not been organized more of the whites remained, but there was a general exodus in the hill counties.‡

Professor Miller estimates that 5 per cent. of the white voters in Talladega county and 25 per cent. of those in Cleburne county, where there were few negroes, remained in the order for several years. The same proportion would be nearly correct for the other counties of North Alabama. Where there were few or no negroes, as in Winston and Walker counties, the

**Ku Klux Report*, Alabama Testimony, (Sayre) 357; (Gov. Lindsay) 170; (Nich. Davis) 783; (Richardson) 815, 855; (Ford) 684; (Lowe) 892; (Forney) 487; Miller, *Alabama*, 246. Herbert, *Solid South*, 36, 41. Also oral accounts.

†There is a copy of the charter of a local Council in the Alabama Testimony of the *Ku Klux Report*, 1017. The Montgomery Council was organized June 2, 1866, and three days later General Swayne joined it. It was charged that even this early he was desirous of representing Alabama in the Senate. Herbert, 41-43.

‡New York *Herald*, August 5, 1867.

white membership held out better, for in those counties there was no fear of negro domination, and if the negro voted he would be controlled by the native white population no matter what was his politics; and what the negro would do in the black counties, the white Leaguers in the hill counties cared but little. The character of the whites left in the League was extremely shady. The native element has been called "low down, trifling white men" and the alien element "itinerant, irresponsible, worthless white men from the North." Such was the opinion of the native white people, and the later history of the Leaguers has not improved their reputation.* The sprinkling of whites served to furnish leaders for the ignorant blacks. In the black counties there were practically no white members in the rank and file. The alien element was probably more able than the native white, and had gained more completely the confidence of the negroes, and soon had complete control over them whenever they were in large numbers. The Bureau agents saw that the Freedmen's Bureau could not survive much longer, and they were especially active in looking out for soft places to fall. With the assistance of the negro they had hoped to pass into high offices in the state and county governments.

One thing about the League that attracted the negro was the mysterious secrecy of the meetings, the weird initiation ceremony that made him feel shivery good from his head to his heels, the imposing ritual and the songs. I have been informed that the ritual was not used in the North; it was probably adopted for the particular benefit of the African. The would-be Leaguer was told in the beginning of the initiation that the emblems of the order were the altar, the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the flag of the union, censer, sword, gavel, ballot box, sickle, shuttle, anvil and other emblems of industry. He was told that the objects of the order were to preserve liberty, perpetuate the union, maintain the laws and the constitution, to secure the ascendancy of American institutions, to protect, defend and strengthen all loyal men and members of the Union

* *Ku Klux Report*, Alabama Testimony, (Lowe) 872; (English) 1437, 1438; (Lindsay) 170; *New York Herald*, August 5, 1869, June 20, 1867. Prof. Miller's account. Oral accounts.

League of America in all rights of person and property,* to demand the elevation of labor, to aid in the education of laboring men, and to teach the duties of American citizenship. This was fine sounding and impressive, and at this point the negro was always willing to take an oath of secrecy, after which he was asked to swear with a solemn oath to support the principles of the Declaration of Independence, pledge himself to resist all attempts to overthrow the United States, and to strive for the maintainance of liberty, elevation of labor, education of all people in the duties of citizenship, to practice friendship and charity to all of the order, and to support for election or appointment to office only such men as were supporters of these principles and measures.†

Then the Council sang "Hail Columbia" and "The Star Spangled Banner," after which an official harangued the candidate, saying that though the designs of traitors had been thwarted, there were yet to be secured legislative triumphs with complete ascendancy of the true principles of popular government, equal liberty, elevation and education, and the overthrow at the ballot box of the old oligarchy of political leaders.

Prayer by the Chaplain then followed, the room was darkened, the "fire of liberty"‡ lighted, the members joined hands in a circle around the candidate who was made to place one hand on the flag and, with the other raised, swear again to support the government, to elect true Union men to office, etc. Then placing his hand on a Bible for the third time he swore to keep his oath, and repeated after the President "the Freedman's Pledge": "To defend and perpetuate freedom and union, I pledge my life, my fortune and my sacred honor. So

*In Sumter county a Northern teacher of a negro school informed a planter that the Leaguers were sworn to defend one another, and that he, the planter, would be punished for striking a Leaguer whom he had caught stealing and had thrashed.—*Selma Times and Messenger*, July 21, 1868.

†The Montgomery Council, May 22, 1867, resolved "That the Union League is the right arm of the Union Republican party of the United States, and that no man should be initiated into the League who does not heartily endorse the principles and policy of the Union Republican party."—*Hubert, Solid South*, 41.

‡A Confederate could not be admitted to the League unless he would acknowledge that his course during the war was treason.

‡Alcohol on salt burns with a peculiar flame making the faces of those around, especially the negroes, appear ghostly.

help me God!" Another song was sung, the President charged the members in a long speech concerning the principles of the order, and the marshal instructed the members in the signs. To pass one's self as a Leaguer, the "Four L's" were given: (1) With right hand raised to heaven, thumb and third finger touching ends over palm, pronounce "Liberty"; (2) Bring the hand down over the shoulder and say "Lincoln"; (3) Drop the hand open at the side and say "Loyal"; (4) Catch the thumb in the vest or in the waistband and pronounce "League".*

This ceremony of initiation was the most effective means of impressing the negro, and of controlling him through his love and fear of the secret, mysterious, and midnight mummery. An oath taken in daylight would be forgotten before the next day; not so, an oath taken in the dead of night under such impressive circumstances. After passing through the ordeal, the negro usually remained faithful.

In each populous precinct there was at first one Council of the League. In each town or city there were two Councils, one for the whites and another, with white officers, for the blacks.† The Councils met once a week, sometimes oftener, and nearly always at night, in the negro churches or school-houses.‡ Guards, armed with rifles and shotguns, were stationed about the place of meeting in order to keep away intruders, and to prevent unauthorized persons from coming within forty yards. Members of some councils made it a practice to attend the meetings armed as if for battle. In these meetings the negroes met to hear speeches by the would-be statesmen of the new regime. Much inflammatory advice was given them by the white speakers; they were drilled into the belief that they and the Southern whites were natural enemies, and passion, strife and prejudice were excited in order to solidify the negro race against the white, and thus prevent political control by the latter. Many of the negroes still had

*A copy of the *Constitution and Ritual* was secured by the whites and published in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 24, 1867.

†The Montgomery Council was composed of white Radicals, and the Lincoln Council in the same city was for blacks. Most of the officers of the latter were whites. Herbert, 41.

‡This fact will partly explain why there were many burnings of negro churches and school-houses by the Ku Klux Klan. These were political headquarters of the Radical party in each community.

strong hopes of confiscation and division of property, and in this they were encouraged by the white leaders. Prof. L. D. Miller was told* by respectable white men, who joined the order before the negroes were admitted and who left when they became members, that the negroes were taught in these meetings that the only way to have peace and plenty, to get "the forty acres and a mule," would be to kill some of the leading whites in each community as a warning to others. The League in Tusculumbia received advice from Memphis to use the torch, that the blacks were at war with the white race. The advice was taken. Three men were to go in front of the council as an advance guard, three were to follow with coal oil and fire, and others were to guard the rear. The plan was to burn the whole town, but first one negro and then another insisted on having some white man's house spared because "he is a good man". The result was that no residences were burned, and they compromised by agreeing to burn the Female Academy. Three of the leaders were lynched.† The general belief of the whites was that the objects of the order were to secure political power, to bring about on a large scale the confiscation of the property of Confederates,‡ and while waiting for this to annex all kinds of portable property. Chicken houses, pig pens, vegetable gardens and orchards were invariably visited by members of the League when returning from the midnight conclaves. This evil became so serious and so general that many believed it to be one of the principles of the order. Everything of value had to be locked up for safe keeping.

As soon as possible after the war each negro had supplied himself with a gun and a dog as a badge of freedom. As a usual thing he carried them to the League meetings and nothing was more natural than that the negroes should begin drilling at night. Armed squads would march in military

*See Miller, *Alabama*, 246, 247.

Leslie & Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan*, 45, 46.

†*Ku Klux Report* Ala. Testimony; (Lindsay) 170, 179; (Nich. Davis) 783; (Richardson) 839, 355; (Lowe) 872, 886, 907; (Pettus) 384; (Walker) 962, 975.

‡Thad. Stevens' speech on Confiscation, through the Royal League, had a wide circulation in Alabama. Agents were sent to the state to organize new Councils, to secure the benefits of the proposed confiscation, and free farms were promised the negroes.—New York *Herald*, June 20, 1867. Many whites now believed that wholesale confiscation would take place.

formation to the place of assemblage, there be drilled, and after the close of the meeting, would march along the roads shouting, firing off their guns, making great boasts and threats against persons whom they disliked. If the home of such a person happened to be on the roadside, the negroes usually made a practice of stopping in front of the house and treating the inmates to unlimited abuse, firing off their guns in order to awaken them. Later military parades in the day time were much favored. Several hundred negroes would march up and down the roads and streets, and amuse themselves by boasts, threats, and abuse of whites, and by shoving whites off the sidewalks or out of the road. But on the whole, there was very little actual violence done the whites; very much less than might have been expected. That such was the case was due, not to any sensible teachings of the leaders, but to the fundamental good nature of the blacks, who were generally content with being impudent.*

The relations between the races, with exceptional cases, continued to be somewhat friendly for several years. In the communities where the League was established the relations were soonest strained. For awhile in some localities, before the advent of the League, the negroes looked to their old masters for guidance and advice, and the latter for the good of both races, were most eager to retain a moral control over the blacks. Barbecues and picnics were arranged by the whites for the blacks, speeches were made, good advice given and all promised to go well. Sometimes the negroes themselves would arrange the festival and invite prominent whites to be present, for whom a separate table attended by the best waiters would be reserved; and after dinner there would be speaking by both whites and blacks. With the organization of the League, the negroes grew more reserved and finally unfriendly and hostile to the whites. The League alone, however, was not responsible for the change. The preaching and teaching missionaries were at work. On the other hand, among the lower classes of whites an unfriendly feeling quickly sprang to oppose the feeling of the blacks.

**Ku Klux Report*, Alabama Testimony, (Sanders) 1803,1811; (Dox) 432; (Herr) 1662,1663.

When the campaign grew exciting, the discipline of the League was used to prevent the negroes from attending democratic meetings, or hearing democratic speakers. The League leaders even went further and forbade the attendance of the blacks at Radical political meetings where the speakers were not endorsed by the League. Almost invariably the scalawag hated the Leaguer, black or white, and often the League proscribed them as political teachers. Judge Humphrey was threatened with political death unless he joined the League. This he refused to do as most whites did where there were many negroes. All Republicans in good standing had to join the League. Judge (later Governor) D. P. Lewis was a member for a short while, but he soon became disgusted and published a denunciation of the League. Nich. Davis and J. C. Bradley, both scalawags, were forbidden by the League to speak in the court house at Huntsville because they were not Leaguers. At a Republican mass-meeting a white Republican wanted to make a speech. The negroes voted that he should not be allowed to speak because he was opposed to the Loyal League. He was treated to much abuse and threats of violence. He then went to another place to speak but was followed by the crowd which refused to allow him to say anything. The League was the machine of the Radical party, and all candidates had to be governed by its edicts. Candidates were usually nominated in its meetings.*

Every negro was *ex colore* a member of or under the control of the League. In the opinion of the League, white Democrats were bad enough, but black Democrats were not to be tolerated. The first rule of the Leaguers was that all blacks must support the Radical program. It was possible in some cases for a negro to refrain from taking an active part in political affairs. He might even fail to vote. But it was martyrdom for a black to be a Democrat—that is, try to follow his old master in politics. The negroes often liked the white Democrats, but life was made miserable for the black Democrat. The whites, in many cases, were forced to advise their faithful blacks to vote the Radical ticket that they might

**Ku Klux Report*, Alabama, (Lowe) 886, 887, 894, 997, (Davis) 733; (Cobbs) 1637.

escape mistreatment. There were numbers of negroes as late as 1868 who were inclined to vote with the whites, and to bring them into line all the forces of the League were brought to bear. They were proscribed in negro society; expelled from negro churches; the women would not "prashay" (appreciate) a black Democrat. The negro man who had Democratic inclinations was sure to find that the League was bringing influence to bear upon his dusky sweetheart or wife to cause him to see the error of his ways, and persistent adherence to the white party would result in the loss of her. The women were converted to Radicalism long before the men, and almost invariably used their influence strongly for the purposes of the League. If moral suasion failed to cause the delinquent to see the light, other methods were used. Threats were common from the first and often sufficed, and fines were levied by the League on recalcitrant members. In case of the more stubborn, a beating wrought a change of heart. A sound whipping was usually effective. The offending darkey was "bucked and gagged," and the thrashing administered, the sufferer being afraid to complain of the way he was treated. There were many cases of aggravated assault and a few cases of murder. By such methods the League succeeded in keeping under its control almost the entire negro population.*

The discipline of the League over its active members was stringent. They were sworn to obey the orders of the officials. A negro near Clayton disobeyed the "Cap'en" of the Loyal League and was tied up by the thumbs; and another for a similar offense was "bucked" and whipped. A candidate having been nominated by the League it was made the duty of every membsr to support him actively. Failure to do so resulted in a fine or other more severe punishment, and members that had been expelled were still under the control of the League.†

The effects of the teachings of the League orators were soon seen in the increasing insolence and defiant attitude of some of the blacks, in the greater number of stealings, small

**Ku Klux Report*, Alabama, (Ford) 684; (Herr) 1665; (Pettus) 381; (Jolly) 283, 291; (Sayre) 387; (Pierce) 313; *New York Herald*, Dec. 4, 1867, October 2, 1868. Herbert. *Solid South*, 45. Oral accounts.

†*New York Herald*, October 13, 1867. Eufaula Correspondence *Ku Klux Report*, Alabama, (Sanders) 1812; (Pettus) 381; (Herr) 1663; (Pierce) 313; (Sayre) 357.

and large, in the boasts, demands, and threats made by the more violent members of the order. Most of them, however, behaved remarkably well under the circumstances, but the few unbearable ones were so much more in evidence that the suffering whites were disposed to class all blacks together as unbearable. Some of the methods of the Loyal League were similar to those of the later Ku Klux Klan. Anonymous warnings were sent to the obnoxious individuals, houses were burned, notices were pasted at night in public places and on the doors of persons who had incurred the hostility of the League.*

In Bullock county, near Perote, a Council of the League was organized under the direction of a negro emissary who proceeded to assume the government of the community. A list of crimes and punishments was adopted, a court erected with various officials established, and during the night all negroes, who opposed them, were arrested. The black sheriff and his deputy were arrested by the civil authorities. The negroes then organized for resistance, flocked into Union Springs, the county seat, and threatened to exterminate the whites and take possession of the county. Their agents visited the plantations and forced the laborers to join them by showing orders purporting to be from General Swayne giving them the authority to kill all who resisted them. Swayne sent out detachments and arrested fifteen of the ring leaders, and the Perote government collapsed.†

When the League was first organized in the Black Belt, and before native whites were excluded from membership, numbers of whites joined the League upon invitation in order to ascertain its objects, to see if mischief were intended toward the whites, and to control, if possible, the negroes in the organization. Most of these became disgusted and withdrew, or were expelled on account of their politics. In Marengo County several white Democrats joined the League at McKinley in order to keep down the excitement aroused by other

*A notice pasted on the door of a citizen of Dallas county was to this effect: "Irvin Hauser is the damnedest rascal in the neighborhood, and if he and three or four others don't mind they will get a ball in them." —*Selma Times and Messenger*, April 21, 1868. Oral accounts. See also Brown, *Lower South*, chapter on *Ku Klux* movement Herbert, 3, 8.

†*New York Herald*, Dec. 5, 1867.

Montgomery Advertiser, Dec. 4, 1867. (J. M. Chappell.)

Leaguers, to counteract the evil influences of alien emissaries, and to protect the women of the community where but few men were left after the war. These men succeeded in controlling the negroes, and in preventing the discussion of politics in the meeting. The League was made simply a club where the negroes met to receive advice, which was that they should attend strictly to their own affairs and vote without reference to any secret organization. Finally they were advised to withdraw from the order.*

For two years, 1867-1869, the League was the machine in the Radical party, and its leaders formed the "ring" that controlled party action. Nominations for office were made by the local and state Councils. It is said that there were stormy times in the Councils when there were more carpet-baggers than there were offices to be filled. The defeated candidate was apt to run as an independent, and in order to be elected would sell himself to the whites. This practice resulted in a weakening of the influence of the League, as the members were sworn to support the League nominee, and the negroes believed that the terrible penalties would be inflicted upon the political traitor. The officers would go among the negroes and show their commissions which they pretended were orders from General Swayne or General Grant for the negroes to vote for them.† A political catechism of questions and answers meant to teach loyalty to the Radical party was prepared in Washington and sent out among the Councils to be used in the instruction of negro voters.‡

After it was seen that existing political institutions were about to be overturned, the white Councils and, to a certain extent, the negro Councils became simply associations of those training for leadership in the new party soon to be formed in the state by act of Congress. The few whites who were in control did not care to admit many new white members as there might be too many to share in the division of the spoils. Hence we find that terms of admission were made more stringent, and, especially after the passage of the Reconstruction

**Ku Klux Report*, Alabama, (Lyon) 1422, 1423; (Abrahams) 1382, 1384.

†See *Ku Klux Rep't* Alabama, (Alston) 1017; (Herr) 1665; (Sayre) 357; (Pierce) 313.

‡*Selma Messenger*, July 19, 1867.

Acts in March, 1867, many applicants were rejected. The alien element was in control of the League. The scalawags had no love for the negro, nor the negro for them. Consequently, they were not able to associate together in League meetings and in political work. The result was that where the blacks were numerous the largest plums fell to the carpet-baggers. The negro leaders,—politicians, preachers and teachers—trained in the League, acted as subordinates to the white leaders in controlling the black population, and they were sent out to drum up the country negroes when elections drew near. They were also given minor positions, when offices were more plentiful than carpet-baggers. Altogether they received but few offices, which fact was later a cause of serious complaint.

The largest white membership of the League was in 1865-1866 and after that date it constantly decreased. The native Radicals did not belong to the League except in the remote white counties. The largest negro membership was in 1867 and 1868. Only the Councils in the towns remained active after the election of 1868, for after the discipline of 1867, and 1868, it was not necessary to look so closely after the plantation negro, and he became a kind of visiting member of the Council in the town.* The League as an organization gradually died out by 1869 except in the largest towns. Many of them were simply transformed into political clubs loosely organized under local political leaders. The Ku Klux Klan undoubtedly had much to do with breaking up the League as an organization. The League was largely the cause of the Ku Klux movement, because it created the conditions which made such a movement necessary.† In 1870 the Radical leaders missed the support formerly given by the League, and an urgent appeal was sent out all over the state from League headquarters in New York by John Keffer and others advocating the reestablishment of Union Leagues to assist in carrying the elections of 1870.‡

*It is certain that the estimates of 18,000 white and 70,000 black members at the same time is not correct. As the latter increased in numbers the former decreased. Early in 1867, Keffer said there were 38,000 whites and 12,000 blacks in the League.—New York *Herald*, May 7, 1867. Perhaps he meant the total enrollment early in the year. In 1868, he claimed 20,000 whites.

†Leslie & Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan*, 47. Also Alabama Testimony in *Ku Klux Report*.

‡Montgomery *Mail*, August 20, 1870.

The leaders of the Union League were such men as Lakin, Callis, Spencer, Bingham, Norris, Keffer, Nealy and Strobach, all aliens of shady character. Nearly all of them were elected to office by the support of the League. After the order was broken up the carpet-baggers found it harder to get office.

However, before its dissolution, the League had served its purpose. It had completely alienated the races politically and made it possible for the outsiders to control the negro. It enabled the negroes to vote as Radicals for several years where without it they either would not have voted at all or they would have voted as Democrats along with their former masters. The League was necessary to the existence of the Radical party in Alabama. No ordinary political organization could have welded the blacks into a solid party. The Freedmen's Bureau, which had much influence over the negroes for demoralization, was too weak in numbers to control effectually the negroes in politics. The League finally absorbed the personelle of the Bureau and inherited all its prestige.*

*In the *Ku Klux Report*, Alabama Testimony, will be found many details concerning the workings of the League. The Conservative and sometimes the Radical witnesses, in Alabama and in all the other Southern states, uniformly assert that the Ku Klux movement was caused by the workings of the Union League.

MAJOR GEORGE FARRAGUT.

*"Well proved, they say, in strife of war,
And tempest on the sea."*

BY MARSHALL, DELANCEY HAYWOOD, of Raleigh, N. C.

With those few of the present generation who have heard at all of Major George Farragut, the idea usually prevails that his only title to distinction lay in the fact that he became the father of one of America's most noted naval commanders. Yet the services rendered by George Farragut himself, both as a soldier and sailor, were not unappreciated during his own lifetime. This gentleman, sometime a Captain of North Carolina Cavalry in the army of the Revolution, a pioneer in the transmontane settlements of Tennessee and the Gulf States, and who was later engaged in the naval service of the United States, was a native of the Island of Minorca, one of the Balearic group, in the Mediterranean sea. A record concerning himself, made in a family Bible and addressed to Admiral Farragut, is reproduced in one of the latter's published biographies as follows:

MY SON:

"Your father, George Farragut, was born in the Island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean, in 1755, the 29th of September, in Ciudadella, and came away from that island the 2d day of April, 1772—came to America in March, 1776. Your mother, Elizabeth Shine, was born in North Carolina, Dobbs Co., near Kinston on the Neuse River, in 1765, on the 7th of June. Her father, John Shine—mother, Ellenor McIven."

That part of Dobbs County, to which allusion is made in this extract now forms the county of Lenoir. Dobbs no longer exists, having been abolished by legislative enactment in 1791.

In the above quoted volume of biography, (written by Loyall Farragut, son of the Admiral), is also a quotation from the records of the ecclesiastical court of Ciudadella, stating that the baptism of George Farragut occurred on September 30, 1755, and giving the date of his birth as above. In this entry on the church records, he designated the son of Anthony Farragut and Juana Mesquida, with Don Joseph de Vigo and

the noble lady Dona Juana Martorell as his god-parents. The full baptismal name given young Farragut was George Anthony Magin; but he no doubt considered an appellation in four sections too cumbersome to be carried about by a sojourner in many lands, so dropped his two middle names and was known simply as George Farragut.

The family of Farragut, (or Ferragut, as it was formerly written), is one of ancient origin, claiming descent from Don Pedro Ferragut, styled *El Conquistador*, or "the Conqueror," a noted warrior in the service of King James the First of Aragon when that monarch expelled the Moors from Majorca and Valencia in the thirteenth century. From this Don Pedro sprang many noted fighters as well as scholars and theologians; but as numerous as the family was, it now no longer exists in the Balearic Islands. It is interesting to note, in connection with the Island of Minorca, that when Admiral Farragut visited his father's birthplace in 1868, the population turned out *en masse* to welcome him, and held in his honor public entertainments attended by many thousands.

George Farragut, the subject of the present sketch, was a full-blooded Spaniard. Later, however, in a resolution by the North Carolina Assembly, (hereinafter to be quoted), he is styled "a native and subject of the Kingdom of France." As an explanation of this, it may be mentioned that at about the time of Farragut's birth, Minorca, (then an English possession), was captured by the French. This disaster to British arms was the one which cost the unfortunate Admiral Byng his life after he returned to England.

The education of George Farragut was received in Spain at the schools of Barcelona, and it may be that he gained some knowledge of English while there; for, after coming to America, he showed himself quite proficient in the language of his adopted country. During the four years elapsing between his departure from Minorca in April, 1772, and his arrival in America in March, 1776, he was for a while at school, as above noted, later being engaged in seafaring pursuits. At the time that he came to America, the war with Great Britain had begun in earnest, and one decisive victory had already been gained in North Carolina by the colonists at Moore's Creek Bridge. Promptly espousing the patriot cause, Farragut now entered

upon the long war in which he was destined to bear an honorable part.

As seamen of the eighteenth century knew more of broadside firing than cavalry tactics, one might expect to find George Farragut on some armed sloop, or fighting as an artilleryman in the ranks of the patriots; yet navigating a horse seems also to have been one of his accomplishments, for we soon see his name enrolled as an officer in the North Carolina State Legion or Mounted Rangers. This organization of light-horsemen was largely entrusted with guarding the western settlements, and much of its warfare was waged against the Indians and their Tory instigators in that section of North Carolina which is now the State of Tennessee.

At the battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781, Farragut is said to have saved the life of Colonel William Washington. Such is a tradition handed down among descendants of the former; and some verification of the belief may be found in published accounts of the battle which state that Colonel Washington was rescued from a perilous encounter in which he was engaged, by a Sergeant (whose name is not given), and a Bugler named Ball.* The Sergeant referred to may have been Farragut, as both he and Washington were in the cavalry.

The exact date when Mr. Farragut entered the army does not appear; but by the spring of 1782, he had risen to the rank of Captain, as is shown by a resolution which the Assembly of North Carolina passed on the 27th of May, in that year:

"RESOLVED, That Captain George Farragut, of the State Legion, be allowed three hundred dollars in full for six months' pay and subsistence money, which shall be received in the sales of confiscated property as gold and silver, and any Commissioner may be allowed the same in the settlement of accounts." †

When the Revolution came to an end and the arms of the colonists were crowned with success, too long drain on North Carolina's resources was sorely felt, and it was not until three years after the war that even a part of the arrears due Captain Farragut for his services could be paid. On the 27th of November, 1776, the Senate of North Carolina passed a set of res-

*Marshall's *Life of Washington*, (1804-1807 edition) vol. iv, p. 347;
Col. Henry Lee's *Memoirs*, (1812 edition) vol. i, p. 258.
Garden's *Anecdotes*, (1822 edition) p. 69.

†*State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. xvi, p. 169.

olutions (concurred in by the House of Commons on the same day), as follows :

"RESOLVED, That Mr. George Farragut, late a Captain in the Cavalry in the State Regiment of North Carolina, be allowed the sum of sixty-eight pounds, eight shillings and four pence, current money, being the one-fourth part of the sum which appears by his account rendered to be due Mr. Farragut for and on account of his military service performed in this State; that the Treasurer pay him the same, and it be allowed in settlement of public accounts;

"RESOLVED ALSO, That the Comptroller issue to Mr. George Farragut a certificate for the other three-fourths of the sum due him;

"RESOLVED LIKEWISE, That this General Assembly are led to adopt this measure from a conviction of the faithful, voluntary and public spirited services of the said Mr. Farragut, he being a native and subject of the Kingdom of France.*

Shortly after the war, Captain Farragut went west and engaged in surveying, also becoming a farmer in what was then known as the District of Washington in North Carolina. Later, his place of residence became a part of the South West Territory, and is now embraced within the borders of the State of Tennessee.

When Captain Farragut went to the Washington District, men of military training were acquisitions to that thinly settled region. Farragut soon became Muster-Master of the District, and was commissioned a Major of Cavalry by Governor William Blount on November 3, 1790. One of the claims before Congress in 1797 was from Major Farragut for "services rendered the United States as Muster-Master of the Militia of the District of Washington, employed in actual service for the protection of the frontiers of the United States south of the Ohio, from the 1st of March, 1792, to the 26th of October, 1793."

In the course of time, Major Farragut became the owner of quite a number of tracts of land in his new home. The record of his purchases, as ascertained by the well-known lawyer and historian, Honorable Joshua W. Caldwell, of Knoxville, Tennessee, is as follows: On February 6, 1794, he purchased from James White a lot in Knoxville, and two days later bought from Thomas King two hundred acres in Knox County, on Third Creek; in the same year, on April 8th, the the State of North Carolina granted him a tract of three hundred and eighty acres in Grassy Valley, Knox County; in April, 1796, he purchased two tracts in Knox County from James White. These last named were on the south side of

**State Records of North Carolina*, vol. xviii, p. 24 and 257.

Second Creek, partly within the present bounds of the City of Knoxville, Farragut disposed of these two tracts in 1799 and 1800. Prior to the time when he sold them, he made his home on the first, (a little over three acres), which stood at the end of Emerson Street, or Spring Street, as it was formerly called. On this lot the house occupied by the Farragut family was standing as late as the beginning of 1903, when it was torn down to make way for a railroad. Shortly after this a public-spirited Tennessean, Benjamin Rush Strong, conceived the idea of preserving the structure, had the timbers collected and the house rebuilt in its original form. It now stands on the premises of Mr. Strong. In a letter written by Hon. John B. Brownlow, and published in the Knoxville *Sentinel* of April 8, 1903, the original form of the house is thus described: "The first story was stone, with a wall thick enough for a four-story log house. The second, of thick logs, and then a half story above, with a high roof."

Having gained a practical knowledge of carpentry while on ship-board, Major Farragut put his experience in that line of work to good account when in Knoxville, and became a contractor and house-builder. Not only in Knoxville, but throughout the surrounding country, many of the houses of the earlier settlers were built by him.

On December 9, 1796, Farragut bought from Stokely Donelson six hundred and forty acres on the north bank of the Holston River. Later, in 1805, he executed a mortgage for a part of this land, and set forth in the mortgage deed that his dwelling house was on part of the tract. His residence was at a place called Stony Point which was afterwards known as Low's Ferry. There, (and not, as is usually supposed, at Campbell's Station), Admiral David Glasgow Farragut was born. Major George Farragut, so far as the records show, never owned land at Campbell's Station. In the records of the county court of Knox County for April session, 1797, it appears that license was granted Maj. Farragut to "keep a public ferry at his own landing on Holston River at the place called Stony Point." Campbell's Station was the nearest settlement to Stony Point, and the only place which could be shown on a map. This is probably why Admiral Farragut himself later referred to Campbell's Station as his birthplace. To speak of Stony Point,

otherwise Low's Ferry, which was about four miles distant from Campbell's Station, would convey no idea to a person not familiar with the neighborhood. The mistake may be accounted for by a tradition, which has currency in Knox County, that there was once, near Low's Ferry, a camp-ground connected in some way with the name of Campbell, and probably owned or operated by members of that family.

The Farragut house at Stony Point is described as having been unusually large for a log structure. Originally it was forty by twenty feet, with additional rooms built later which greatly added to its size. Through its walls were two loopholes for purposes of defense against the Indians. This house is no longer in existence. The place of its location was sold by Major Farragut to Elisha Jarnagin, from whom it was purchased by Abraham Low; and thereby it gained the name of Low's Ferry.

Admiral Farragut himself could remember many of the dangerous frontier experiences of his father's family in Tennessee, as the following extract from his journal (in the biography by Loyall Farragut) will show:

"In those days, on the border, we were continually annoyed by the Indians, which rendered the organization of the militia a necessity. My father was appointed a Major of cavalry, and served for some time in that capacity, the condition of the country requiring its inhabitants to be constantly on the outlook. I remember that on one occasion, during my father's absence, a party of Indians came to our house, which was somewhat isolated, when my mother, who was a brave and energetic woman, barred the door in the most effectual manner, and sent all of us trembling little ones up into the loft of the barn, while she guarded the entrance with an axe. The savages attempted to parley with her, but she kept them at bay, until finally they departed, for some reason which is unknown, their intentions having been evidently hostile. My father arrived shortly after with his command, and immediately pursued the Indians, whom, I believe, he succeeded in overtaking and punishing; at any rate, they were never seen again in that part of the country."

When North Carolina ceded Tennessee to the United States to be set up as a separate government, the parent State reserved the ownership of unentered public lands lying within the borders of the new commonwealth. It may be that the remainder of what was due Major Farragut from North Caro-

lina for his military services in the War for Independence, was paid with the grant to him of the three hundred and eighty acres in Grassy Valley, heretofore mentioned. Numberless claims by veterans of the Revolution were settled in this manner, and many of the owners crossed the Alleghanies to take personal possession of their property. Largely from these war-like progenitors, with those who accompanied them or went about the same time, springs the race of Tennesseans, which has made itself felt in every succeeding conflict,—from the war of 1812, with its leading spirit, Andrew Jackson, a native North Carolinian, down to the war between the States, with General Forrest and Admiral Farragut, both of North Carolina parentage, fighting on opposite sides with unsurpassed effect; while later still, in the war with Spain, were many creditable participants who came of the same stock.

Some time during the early part of 1807, Major Farragut removed with his family from Tennessee to the Gulf Coast, having received a commission as Sailing-Master in the United States navy on the 2d of March in that year. At the time of his appointment he was still a resident of Tennessee; for even later, in a deed executed by him (April 30, 1807), he refers to himself as of "Knox County, in the State of Tennessee." In that day of slow mail service, the news of his appointment probably had not reached him, or he may have tarried in his old home for a short while in order to dispose of his property before reporting for duty. After his arrival in the far South, Farragut purchased a plantation in what is now Jackson county, Mississippi. It was situated at a slight promontory called Point Plaquet, and sometimes known as Farragut's Point. This place is on the west side of Pascagoula River, and near it was a small harbor, together with tremendous stretches of marsh lands which were interspersed with bayous and ponds. The place was in a section of country which, in parlance of the old English borders, might be styled, "debatable land," for it was claimed by the Spaniards as a part of West Florida, and by the United States as included within the Louisiana Territory, recently purchased from France. After the American settlers had captured the Spanish fortress at Baton Rouge, the Government at Washington seized the whole stretch of country in dispute.

Though still retaining possession of his plantation, Farragut removed his family to New Orleans in 1808. He seems to have alternated in his place of residence between his plantation and the naval station at New Orleans; for, in 1811, while still serving as sailing-master, he was called upon to act as magistrate for the county of Pascagoula. The government agent who made the appointment wrote to the authorities at Washington that he had prevailed upon Sailing-Master Farragut to accept the post of magistrate upon a special request from the people of Pascagoula, by whom he was greatly beloved. As the Gulf Coast was settled so largely by Spaniards and French, it was to Farragut, no doubt, a most congenial locality, recalling the surroundings of his youth in far away Minorca.

At the naval station in New Orleans, Sailing-Master Farragut was for sometime in command of a gun-boat. His wife died in New Orleans on the 22d of June, 1808, being the victim of a yellow fever epidemic. Before Mrs. Farragut's death an incident occurred which had the greatest influence in shaping the career of her distinguished son, David Glasgow Farragut, then a child. It seems that Sailing-Master David Porter, father of Commodore David Porter and grandfather of Admiral David Dixon Porter, was then stationed at New Orleans; and, becoming ill, received much kindness from the family of his friend and associate, Sailing-Master Farragut, at whose house he died. Shortly after that, Commander Porter, afterwards Commodore, was ordered to New Orleans; and, learning of what had been done for his late father in the household of Mr. Farragut, offered to adopt one of that gentleman's two smallest sons—William, the eldest of three, already being a midshipman in the navy. The younger of the two boys, on hearing of Porter's offer, promptly asked that he might be the one to accompany that officer. Thus began the wonderful naval career of David Glasgow Farragut, who received his "baptism of fire" under Captain Porter in the war of 1812, when a midshipman only thirteen years old on board the *Essex*, and who died with a higher rank than had ever before existed in the navy of the United States.

Of George Farragut, little more remains to be said. He retired from the navy, March 25, 1814, on account of age,

then being in his fifty-ninth year, and prematurely old, no doubt, in consequence of his continued life of almost constant exposure. He is recorded simply as "Dismissed" in at least one Naval Register (Hamersly's); and this should not be allowed to pass without a word of explanation, as dismissal in our day implies that an officer has been guilty of some misconduct which renders him unworthy of remaining in the service. Desiring information on a statement apparently so out of keeping with the previous honorable record of Mr. Farragut, the writer of this sketch addressed an inquiry to the Navy Department at Washington, asking for the facts of the case. To this came the reply that Sailing-Master Farragut left the service for the reason that owing to his old age he could not perform his duties as the requirements of active service demanded, and in those days there was no retired list; there was nothing in connection with his dismissal other than this."

After the retirement of Sailing-Master Farragut from the navy, he once more repaired to his plantation in Mississippi, and there spent the remainder of his life. The part, if any, which he bore in the operations to defend New Orleans against the British, in the war of 1812, does not appear. He was no longer regularly enlisted in the service when Jackson won his great victory on the 8th of January, 1815.

It was on his plantation at Point Plaquet, June 4, 1817, that George Farragut died, three years after his retirement from the navy, in the sixty-second year of his age, and after a residence of more than forty years in the republic for whose independence he had bravely contended when a young captain of North Carolina Light Horse in the army of the Revolution.

RECOLLECTIONS OF JUDGE WM. D. WOOD, OF SAN MARCOS, TEXAS.

II. SECESSION.

The news of the election of Lincoln in 1860 created the greatest excitement among the people of Leon County, Texas, where the writer then resided. It was the theme of universal discussion. The result and effect on the institution of slavery were canvassed pro and con. Public sentiment declared continuance in the Union the death-knell to slavery, and that Texas ought to secede and resume her original sovereignty.

A large majority of the people of Texas had determined that political union with the Free States was no longer to be endured, and that secession, peaceable if it could be had, forcible if it must, was the only course left the slave-holding states. Action, however, in this direction came about slowly in Texas, owing to the fact that in 1859 General Sam Houston, a Union man wanting the South to fight for her rights inside the Union, was elected Governor, defeating Runnels, the regular Democratic nominee.

Texas having been admitted into the Union under a Democratic administration and by Democratic votes, her citizens, almost unanimously, aligned themselves with the Democratic party of the country. This unanimity was not broken until 1857, and for that reason no party conventions had been held or nominations made in the State, from the time of annexation to the assembling of a Democratic convention at Waco, in 1857. At this convention H. R. Runnels was nominated for Governor and F. R. Lubbock for Lieutenant-Governor. This action was deemed necessary because General Houston, then one of the United States Senators from Texas, had in 1854 opposed the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and voted with the Republicans and Freesoilers against it. This bill being favorable to the slave-holding interest of the South, every Senator from the slave-holding States voted for it, except Houston of Texas and Bell of Tennessee. Senator Houston's opposition to this bill, and his vote against it, displeased the leading Democrats of Texas, who felt that Texas should line up and

be in full accord with her sister slave States; and hence the Waco convention and the nomination of Runnels and Lubbock.

General Houston became the independent candidate for Governor, with Jesse Grimes for Lieutenant-Governor as his running mate. Runnels and Lubbock were elected. General Houston was again the independent candidate for Governor in 1859, and Edward Clark candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and they defeated Runnels and Lubbock. The defeat of the Democratic nominees resulted partly from General Houston's personal popularity, especially among the old Texans, who would vote for him without any regard to his politics; but principally from the fact that a few leading Democrats and a few Democratic newspapers, notably the *State Gazette* at Austin, the exponent of the party in Texas, suggested the propriety of re-opening the African slave trade—a measure obnoxious to the people of Texas.

By the 15th of November, 1860, it had been definitely ascertained in Texas that Lincoln had been elected President of the United States. The Lone Star Flag of Texas was immediately hoisted over the capitol at Austin, and without any consultation or concert was raised in nearly every town and village in the State. The opposition to "a Black Republican Administration", was manifested by the raising of the Texas flag and the erection of liberty poles in almost every town and village.

The people at once became anxious to have the Legislature called together and take action with the other Southern states that were already moving to meet the crisis. Governor Houston declined to call the Legislature. Finally a number of the leading citizens of the State, representing some twenty-eight counties, met at the office of George Flournoy, then Attorney-General of the State, on the 21st day of November 1860, in the city of Austin, and issued a call for holding an election throughout the State, to elect delegates to a convention to take into consideration the state of the country, and to determine whether Texas should secede from the Union, and cooperate with the other slave states. The election was fixed for the 8th of January 1861, and the convention was duly held, one hundred and eighty delegates—twice the number of the members of the House of Representatives—met in the

Convention at Austin on January the 28th, and organized by the election of O. M. Roberts as President and R. Brownrigg Secretary. On December the 27th, 1860, Gov. Houston issued his proclamation under the resolutions passed by the Legislature in 1858, and approved by Gov. Runnels, ordering an election for seven delegates to meet in consultation with delegates that might be appointed by the slave states or a majority of them. No attention was paid by the people to this proclamation, and no such election was held. In the meantime Gov. Houston, under the resolutions passed by the Legislature in 1858, called the Legislature to meet in session on January the 21, 1861. Very few of the members of this Legislature shared the Governor's Union sentiments.

The Legislature met, recognized the Convention, and ratified the calling of the same, and from that time acted in entire harmony with it. On February the 1st, 1861, the Convention passed the final ordinance of secession, by a vote of 167 yeas to 7 nays. The Convention provided that said ordinance should be submitted to a vote of the people for ratification or rejection, on February 22d, 1861, and return of the vote made to the Convention on March 2d. The Legislature passed an act approving fully the action of the Convention, and requiring the Governor by proclamation to declare the result of the vote of the people on the ordinance of secession. 46,129 votes were cast for ratification, and 14,697 against it. On the 4th of March, 1861, the Convention counted the vote, and the President of the Convention declared Texas a free and independent sovereignty. Governor Houston, in obedience to the requirement of the Legislature, issued his proclamation, declaring that the ordinance had been ratified by a large majority, but in no way indicated the legal results of this action of the people.

Prior to the submission of the Ordinance of Secession to the people, the Convention, on the 4th of February, elected seven delegates to the Convention of the slave states, called to meet at Montgomery, Ala. The delegates elected were John H. Reagan, Louis T. Wigfall, John Hemphill, T. N. Waul, John Gregg, W. T. Oldham and W. B. Ochiltree. On the 6th of March the Convention passed an ordinance, ratifying the provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, which had

been adopted by the delegates of several Slave States assembled at Montgomery, and official notice of this was at once forwarded to the Texas delegates. On the 14th of March the Convention passed an ordinance, continuing in office all of the state and county officials, and all laws not in conflict with any ordinance of the Convention. It was also provided that all of the officials of the state should take the oath of office required by the state Constitution, substituting in the oath the Constitution of the Confederate States in place of the Constitution of the United States. Members of the Legislature then in session, and all of the state officials except Governor Houston and E. W. Cave, the Secretary of State, took the oath. Governor Houston having declined to take the oath, Edward Clark the Lieutenant-Governor became Governor.

Governor Houston was strenuously opposed to separate state action, and favored united action on the part of the slave states. It seems, however, that when Texas entered the Southern Confederacy, he was not satisfied and he yielded to the will of the people with great reluctance. After being deposed from office, he still considered himself Governor and his office usurped. But he did not lose the patriotic impulses of his heart, nor would he embroil the people of his state in civil strife by giving aid and comfort to their enemies. On the day of his retirement from office, the 16th of March, 1861, he addressed a long letter to the people in which he used the following language: "I love Texas too well to bring civil strife and bloodshed upon her. To avert this calamity, I shall make no endeavor to maintain my authority as Chief Executive of the state, except by the peaceful exercise of my functions. When I can no longer do that, I shall calmly withdraw from the scene, leaving the government in the hands of those who have usurped its authority, but still claiming that I am Chief Executive." The most conclusive evidence of General Houston's loyalty to and love of Texas, is the fact that about the time of his retirement from the office of Governor, it was rumored that Colored Wait, a Federal officer in command of U. S. troops at Indianola, awaiting transportation out of Texas, had or would receive orders from the authorities at Washington, to use his force to reinstate Governor Houston in office. This rumor coming to the ears of General Houston, on March

27th, 1861, he addressed Colonel Wait a letter, in which he used this language: "I have received intelligence that you have or soon will have orders to concentrate United States troops under your command at Indianola in this state, to sustain me in the exercise of my official functions. Allow me respectfully to decline such assistance, * * * and request you to remove such troops out of the state at the earliest day practicable."

On March 23rd, 1861, the Convention ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States, and finally adjourned on the 25th of March. The Legislature adjourned the 9th of February to meet on the 18th of March, 1861, and adjourned *sine die* April the 9th. The military jurisdiction of the Confederacy was extended over Texas. On the 16th of March Earl Van Dorn was appointed colonel. He arrived at Indianola on the 26th and assumed command in Texas. On the 14th of August, 1861, Van Dorn was called to Richmond for other service, and P. O. Hebert took command of Texas. By the 20th of June 1861, all of the Federal troops had been removed from Texas, and the Confederate authorities had possession of every Federal fort, port and station in the state, with most of the Federal arms, supplies and munitions of war. All of this had been effected by a delicate tact and diplomacy without spilling one drop of blood. At that date there was not a hostile soldier in Texas. Every one of the 2700 Federal troops that were in the state on the day the state seceded were gone. This was principally accomplished by the State authorities, acting through the Convention and the Legislature, before any Confederate officer assumed command in the state. Texas had completely severed her union with the Free States of the Old Union, and there being no hostile foe within her borders, her citizens now had the opportunity to enter the armies of the Confederacy, to affix by the sword, if they could, the seal of finality upon their right to be independent.

III. RAISING TROOPS IN TEXAS FOR THE CONFEDERACY.

That Texas furnished as many and as brave soldiers for the Confederacy, in proportion to her population, as any of her sister states, I think is beyond controversy. There was scarcely an important battle during the war in which Texans

did not participate. There are no data from which the exact number of the soldiers furnished by Texas for the Confederacy can be ascertained. In 1859 the vote of the state for Governor, was for Houston 36,257, for Runnels 27,500. Total 63,757. Estimating the number of soldiers furnished by Texas at 90,000* it appears that Texas had about every man in the army capable of bearing arms. The raising of troops in Texas, was not done by call on or through the state authorities. Hence there are no state records existing as to the number of men furnished. Many men were sent by the Confederate military authorities, from east of the Mississippi river, authorized to enlist men in Texas; also many Texans were so authorized. The men so enlisted were reported direct to the authorities in Richmond, if reported at all. The Confederate authorities in 1861, made a general call upon Texas for twenty companies of infantry to go to Virginia. In response to this call, thirty-four companies went. These thirty-four companies were formed into a brigade, first commanded by Brigadier General Louis T. Wigfall, and after he was elected Confederate Senator from Texas, Brigadier-General John B. Hood was put in command. This brigade had various commanders, but from the date General Hood took command, to the surrender at Appomattox, it was always known as Hood's brigade, and covered itself with immortal glory on a hundred battle fields. A regiment of cavalry was raised in Texas by Col. Nat. Terry, and went east of the Mississippi river, where it remained until the surrender, and though it had various commanders, it was always known as Terry's Rangers; and during the long and bloody war won for itself the unfading laurels that belong to the bravest of the brave. Judge John Gregg raised a regiment of infantry that went east of the Mississippi. It was captured at Fort Donelson. It was exchanged, and fought it out till the surrender. It is useless to attempt to enumerate. The Texas soldier proved himself to be the peer of any man in daring, courage, reliability, and in all of the elements that constitute the true soldier. In the writer's own county, Leon, at the time of secession, there were not a thou-

*Governor Roberts in the Confederate military history of Texas, estimates the number of soldiers raised by Texas at 90,000. He devoted much labor to this investigation, and his estimate is as near the truth as it is possible to come.

sand voters, yet the county furnished for the Confederate armies at least eight hundred soldiers. One company of infantry was raised in the county in June 1861, of 126 men. This company immediately went to Richmond, was mustered into service, and incorporated into one of the regiments of Hood's brigade. It was surrendered at Appomattox, showing at last roll call of officers and privates only ten men. The names of these deserve to be perpetuated. They were J. E. Anderson, captain; J. A. Green, second lieutenant; privates J. T. Allison, J. P. Copeland, H. T. Driscoll, E. W. Jones, T. R. Pistole, J. E. Swindler, H. P. Traywick and P. H. West.

Enlistment in Texas commenced in earnest in June 1861. Arms and all necessary military equipments were exceedingly scarce. No attempt in Texas, was made to arm men who enlisted for service east of the Mississippi river. Outside of the arms and munitions that had been secured from the Federal troops in the state, which had been turned over to the Confederate states by the Convention, there were no arms, except double-barreled shot guns, hunting rifles, and pistols, that belonged to private individuals. The state had made some appropriations to buy arms, and ammunition had been procured, but not a tithe needful to meet the demand. The most of the companies raised for service west of the river equipped themselves as best they could, with such arms as each man had, and such clothing as he had or could procure. The state furnished cloth for tents as far as it was able, from the penitentiary at Huntsville. The greater portion of the Texans preferred the cavalry branch of the service. The spur is indispensable to the cavalry man, so spurs were in demand in those days, and the stock of these in the country was soon exhausted, and the cavalry man had to call on the blacksmith. At this time, the Texas soldier seemed to be impressed with the idea that hand to hand and man to man fights would frequently occur, and that in such case a bowie knife, or some other big knife, was an indispensable part of his fighting outfit, and as the knife never failed to fire, the Texas soldier was strongly impressed in favor of the knife. To supply this demand for knives the merchant's stocks in the country were soon depleted, and then came a demand for all of the new and old files that could be found large enough to make a bowie

knife; and so it was that the demand for spurs and knives kept the blacksmiths busy day and night. Spurs play no part in a foot soldiers equipment, and they were soon dispensed with, as the most of the men who entered as cavalry, were soon dismounted, their horses sent home, and themselves turned into foot soldiers. They did not carry the big knives long, for they soon found them useless and burdensome. Another curious idea occurred in the early part of the war. Colonel Carter raised a regiment of cavalry, and proposed to arm them with iron spears, into which wooden handles, about twelve or fourteen feet long were fitted. The writer saw a number of these weapons. They were certainly a strange anomaly in modern warfare. Whether the Colonel really armed his men with these lances, the writer does not know. These weapons of a by-gone age only emphasized the scarcity of arms and the straits of the Confederacy to arm and equip her soldiers. A brigade of those poorly armed Texas cavalry, who were dismounted and made into infantry by order of General Holmes in 1862, was marched into Arkansas and camped between the Arkansas and White rivers, not very far from Duvall's Bluff. Many of these soldiers had no arms at all, some had nothing better than shot guns and squirrel rifles, with very little ammunition, and what they had were of poor quality, and ill suited to their guns. While so camped, the brigade was ordered post haste to meet a rumored detachment of the enemy, marching up White river. These Texas soldiers manifested the utmost eagerness to meet the enemy. The rumor proved to be false. No enemy appeared, and this was fortunate, for equipped as the Texans were it would have been murder for them to have met a well armed and disciplined foe.

IV. CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF TEXAS DURING THE CONFEDERATE WAR.

During the continuance of the Civil War, Texas fared much better than the other States of the Confederacy. The Union armies did not succeed in making any permanent lodgment in her territory. Landings were effected and temporary occupation had at Galveston, Brownsville and one or two other points on the coast. During the four years of

the war Providence favored Texas with bountiful crops. Her slave population was peaceable, obedient, orderly, industrious and faithful in their service. During the continuance of the war there was not a single insult offered to, or assault made on, a white woman by a negro within the boundaries of the state of Texas. The old men, the boys and the slaves successfully tilled all of the land in cultivation at the commencement of the war, and in many instances put new land in cultivation. Plenty of corn and wheat was raised for home consumption, and considerable to spare for the army. Hogs and cattle were plentiful, and they flourished and fattened on the range, insuring a bountiful supply of meat for home, and much to spare for the soldiers. Fair cotton crops were raised. Bread and meat for home consumption and to supply the wants of the army were of first consideration, and for this reason the production of cotton was considerably curtailed. The stocks of goods in the country at the opening of the war, consisting of prints, domestics, clothing, boots, shoes, tableware and hardware, &c, &c, soon became exhausted. The Gulf ports, through which these articles came into the State, were soon blockaded, cutting off the means of replenishing these articles. This, at first, caused great inconvenience. Necessity soon became a spur to action, and the people went to work with a will to supply these articles as far as they could. They commenced making spinning wheels, looms, reels and warping bars. The State arranged to import through Mexico thousands of pairs of cotton and wool cards, for carding cotton and wool by hand into rolls, so that these articles could be spun into thread. The people being supplied with the cards, the wheels, the looms, the reels and the warping bars, commenced at home to manufacture domestics, jeans and yarns; also blankets, and soon they had sufficient of these articles to supply their most urgent needs, with some surplus for the soldiers. The forest furnished material to dye the cloth, blankets and the yarn for the socks and gloves. This manufacturing was the work of the ladies and the house servants. The ladies not only spun and wove the cloth for their dresses, but they cut, fitted and made them, and were not ashamed to wear them. The ladies carded and spun wool out of which they knit thousands of socks and gloves, which with other

clothing of their own manufacture they sent to their husbands, fathers, brothers and sweethearts in the army.

Had it not been for the Confederate women, I do not know what would have become of the Confederate soldier. His government, though it exerted every effort, was not able to clothe and feed him properly. Had it not been for the soldier's wife, his mother and his sister, he indeed would not only have been ragged and tattered, but naked. Contributions were being constantly made by the Southern women in the way of blankets, clothing, socks, gloves and shoes. It was not the fault of the Southern women that the Confederacy failed; they worked and prayed for its success day and night; with their kind words and sweetest smiles, they cheered the soldier on to duty, and they never lost faith, faltered or despaired of the success of the Confederacy until the day of Appomattox.

Provision was made by the State authorities, for furnishing from the Penitentiary at Huntsville, soldiers' families and widows with domestics, woollen goods and yarns, free of charge. Much suffering was avoided by these contributions. These supplies were distributed to the needy through the commissioners court of each county.

After a while Texas opened up a trade with Mexico. The Mexicans wanted cotton, and the Confederates wanted calico, domestics, hardware, sugar, coffee, &c, &c. The Mexicans came with their carts for the cotton, bringing goods that the people needed. They paid a good price for the cotton in silver or gold doubloons. They asked an enormous price for their goods. A bolt of common calico was worth \$15.00, coffee \$1.00 per pound, and all other goods in proportion. These prices were in gold or silver. To one of the carts the Mexicans brought with them, when loaded, they worked from ten to sixteen mules. Each cart carried from ten to fifteen bales of cotton of 500 pounds weight. The Mexicans brought with them droves of mules which they worked to the carts by relays. In those days of the war and blockade the lady who was the possessor of a calico dress, was indeed favored and the envy of all of her neighbors; so it was that all those who could afford it, did not hesitate to pay the price, and become the proud possessor of a calico dress. Texans at that day and time were

proverbial lovers of coffee. The ladies had become so disgusted with parched sweet potato, rye, wheat, barley and okra, the miserable substitutes that the blockade had forced them to adopt for coffee, that they did not hesitate to pay \$1.00 per pound for a little of the *genuine*, with which, once more to regale their palates. Many of the people of Texas obtained permits from the Confederate authorities, carried cotton to Mexico, and brought back supplies of needed goods, much to the relief of the people. The Confederate Government, through its agents, carried cotton to Mexico, and in this way secured needed military supplies. The Rio Grande border of Mexico was a great and useful friend to the Confederacy and the people of Texas during the war.

While Texas furnished her own bread, meat and home-made clothing, her people appreciated now and then the luxuries that could be obtained from Mexico. So far as shoes were concerned Texas managed fairly well. Small tanneries sprang up all over the State, from which were turned out a fair quality of leather. There were shoemakers and shoes were made, and the people were not left to go bare-footed. Hundreds of those home-made shoes were sent to the soldiers.

The vast territory of Texas, its sparse and scattered population, the natural pasturage the soil afforded for the raising of hogs, cattle, horses, sheep and goats, her shallow Gulf ports, her great distance from the active centre of military operations, her long extended frontier bounded by friendly Mexico, all conspired to the advantage of Texas, saved her from serious invasion, and her people from the suffering, want and terror experienced by the people of her sister Confederate States, during the four years of the great Confederate War.

In the preparation of the foregoing article, the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Oran M. Roberts, Colonel in command of a Texas regiment during the war, and subsequently elected Governor of the State for two successive terms; who prepared papers on secession in Texas, and on the Confederate military history of the State, for a work of twelve volumes, entitled, "*A Library of Confederate States History*," published at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1899, by the Atlanta Confederate Publishing Co. Especially is he indebted to Gov. Roberts for the exact dates of secession and its incidents in Texas.

W. D. WOOD.

San Marcos, Texas, May, 1903.

AN AMERICAN PRINCE AND PRINCESS.

By J. F. BOUCHELLE, Thomasville, Ga.

The fact that a prince of the royal line of France, of the thrones of Sicily and Naples, and a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, has resided in America, the refuge of those oppressed by kingly tyrants, is not generally known.

A prince, whose wife was a fair daughter of the Old Dominion, and a grand-niece of George Washington; whose permanent home was in the State of Florida, is a bit of history that should certainly interest American students, as it in a way links together Florida, the land of flowers, and Virginia, the land of chivalry.

Napoleon Achille Murat was born in Paris, 1801, of Joachim Murat, king of Naples, and Caroline Murat, sister of Napoleon Bonaparte. In his youth he bore the title of the "Prince of two thrones."

When King Joachim was dethroned in 1815, Achille sought a refuge with his mother in the Castle of Frohsdorf, in Lower Austria, where during several years of tutelage, he received a finished and scholarly education. After passing through some vicissitudes of fortune he came to the United States, and sought immediate naturalization. However, it may be noted here, that, for political reasons, he was exiled from France and Italy. He became very intimate with LaFayette, and was a companion to him on his second journey through the States. It was through the influence of LaFayette that he determined to settle in the United States.

It is said that a nomination to Congress was tendered him by the Democrats of Richmond, as an inducement for him to remain in Virginia. He had otherwise promises of a political career. But in his rather extended journey through the States, he was most impressed with the climate and country of Florida, and determined to make his home there; whither he moved about the year 1826. He bought a large plantation near Tallahassee, investing heavily in slaves at the same time.

It was here that he met his future bride, Catherine Dangerfield Willis, daughter of Colonel Byrd Willis and Mary

Lewis, niece of General Washington, of Willis Hall, near Fredericksburg, Va. Catherine is said to have been very beautiful, and possessed of most charming manners and a gracious disposition. When fifteen she married a Scotch gentleman named Grey. At sixteen she was left a widow and mother.

Mr. Willis moved his family to Tallahassee in 1820. Tallahassee was then one of the most important social centers of the country. Mrs. Grey there entered a coterie of refinement and intellectuality, and was herself the center of much admiration and entertainment. She soon attracted the notice of Prince Murat. His suit was not at first received with favor. He was an excellent conversationalist and a man of great genius, but had allowed himself to fall into habits by no means fastidious. He had a shepherd dog, very shaggy, that accompanied him on all his rounds, even into the parlor on his social calls. The Prince being an inveterate tobacco chewer, in the absence of a more appropriate receptacle would use the fuzzy hide of his dog as a cuspidor, bespattering the poor animal unmercifully. This did not enhance the love or agree with the refined taste of Mrs. Grey, but from the persistent earnestness of the Prince, and from the persuasion of her friends and parents, Mrs. Grey accepted his proposal, and in July, 1826, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte and the grand-niece of George Washington were married. They soon moved to Lipona, Prince Murat's plantation. Here for many years a continued round of gayety and enlivening society was passed.

The Prince, though devoting a considerable part of his time to social duties, did not neglect his studies. He was elected alderman of Tallahassee, and subsequently was appointed postmaster, performing well the duties of both offices. His learning was extensive, and those who knew him say that he had a wonderful memory, and that his accurate knowledge of men and affairs extended into a wide field.

He was the author of several books, among which was *Letters on the Government and Political Parties of America*, which was the means of giving the Europeans much accurate and reliable knowledge of affairs in this country. Another one of his works, "*Expositione des principes du gouvernement republicain tel qu'il a ete perfectionne en Amerique*," enjoyed a great reputation, passed through fifty editions, and was

translated into English, Dutch, German and other languages. It is said still to be a leading book of the Democrats of Western Europe. His publications were forbidden in Austria and Italy on account of his republican principles and his reputed character as a pretender.

The Prince was especially fond of outdoor life, experimenting in farming and cattle-breeding. He soon became acquainted with the varieties of birds and fish of the country. He also discovered the cinchona or quinine plant in some of the native wild shrubs. Another of his experiments was the making of dye from native plants that he had discovered.

Once during the absence of Madame Murat he determined to put his experiments to practical purposes, and ordered his servants to make ready the soap kettle and bring him all the available articles of clothing from the house. He had got fairly started in his work when his wife unexpectedly returned. On seeing her he rushed to her and exclaimed in all the glow of success: "O, Kate, I have dyed all your clothes a most beautiful pink. You will look so lovely in them!" To her great consternation he had dyed sheets, pillow cases, table cloths, dresses, petticoats, and various other articles a bright red.

Many amusing anecdotes are told of his queer ways. Like a great many Frenchmen he believed that all animals were edible. Rattlesnakes and frogs were among his favorite dishes; and he kept his slaves busy supplying his table with them. One day he invited William P. Duval, the Governor of Florida, to dine with him. The Governor accepted with some trepidation, for he had heard of the eccentricities of Murat. He rode fifteen miles on horseback for this dinner. After all preliminary etiquette was over he was ushered into the dining hall. The table was elegantly laid with rich silverware. On their taking seats Murat opened a large dish disclosing to view a large baked owl. In answer to the question to have a piece of the fowl the Governor replied that he would relish any part except the head. Murat proceeded with great flourish to carve the bird, but the nocturnal animal resisted all efforts to detach limbs, and after futile attempts to dissect him, Murat gave it up with the remark that, "he vas not quite ripe enough, bote in a few days he get ze gout, en den hees leg come queek." Other dishes followed

in course; fried frog-stools, soup made of the fragments of earless hogs and cattle, etc. The Governor said on the last dish he made an excellent dinner, and believed that Murat could make a good dish out of anything except frog-stools, owls and "turkey-boozards."

Murat also experimented on the digestive organs of his slaves by feeding them on cherry tree sawdust with the disastrous result of rendering them unfit for service for several days.

A trip was made to Belgium by the Prince and Princess, where they resided for two years. Murat was given the command of a regiment in the Belgian service. He is said to have borne a striking resemblance to his uncle, Napoleon, and was often stopped by old soldiers, who had served under his father and uncle, and covered with kisses. By order of the king of Belgium his regiment was disbanded for fear that his influence would be exerted to the restoration of his family. As an example of his proficiency in the language, he addressed his troops in seven different tongues on taking leave of them.

After leaving Belgium, the couple visited London and were entertained by the royal family, and became quite intimate with many men of note; among whom were Washington Irving and the famous John Randolph of Roanoke. Louis Napoleon was their guest while here, and promised to give his "cousin Kate a chateau and everything she wanted in return for her kindness to him."

On their return to America they resided for some time in St. Augustine, and while here Louis Napoleon was on his way to visit them, but had to return before he got further than New York on account of the illness of his mother.

After having settled down again Murat studied law, and on being admitted to the bar he moved to New Orleans. He was unsuccessful there, and soon left for France to look after his now embarrassed interests. On his return to America he went back to his plantation in Florida. Soon after the Florida Indian war began. He served actively throughout the campaigns of this war, being aid-de-camp to General Call. He was subsequently commissioned colonel and appointed to the command of the frontier.

His wife was constantly with him in his military duties and exhibited much bravery and devotion to him when he was

stricken seriously ill. After a lingering illness, presumably brought on by his Indian service, Prince Murat died, April 15, 1847—a little too soon to see his fond hopes realized in the restoration of the Bonaparte family. He was buried in the Episcopal cemetery in Tallahassee, where his grave is now marked by a simple, unpretentious marble shaft.

Achille Murat's brother, Lucien Charles Murat, lived with his mother in Frohsdorf Castle, Austria, but being persecuted by the Austrian authorities, he resolved to leave the country. Shortly afterwards he took passage in a vessel for the United States. He was shipwrecked on the coast of Spain, and held as a prisoner. Achille in his character as an American citizen, brought the influence of the United States government to his assistance, and his brother was soon liberated by the United States minister in Spain. Lucien Charles Murat visited Boston, and from there went to his brother in Florida. He lived here from 1825 to 1827. After reverses and elevations in his fruitless efforts to recover the throne to which his brother had relinquished all claims, he died in France, leaving five children, of whom there are today many descendants.

After the death of Achille Murat, his widow moved into a residence two miles from the city of Tallahassee. Here she lived in peace the rest of her days, doing many deeds of charity and kindness, and shedding happiness all around her. She was present at the assembling of the Bonapartists in Paris, and was one of the most honored guests of the occasion; in fact she occupied the place of the Princess Eugenie by the side of Louis Napoleon. The Emperor tried to fulfill his promise of giving her "a chateau and everything she wanted," but she preferred to spend the rest of her life in her native land. Notwithstanding, Louis Napoleon gave her an annuity of \$40,000. She died on the 6th of August, 1867, and was interred by the side of her husband.

Thus lived and died Prince and Princess Murat, a couple around whom were woven many rich and romantic incidents. She was a devoted and affectionate wife, refined and talented in attainments; who drew to herself friends that worshipped and adored her; a true lady of the Southland, who did not feel out of place by the side of the crowned monarchs of Eu-

rope. He was a husband, loyal and true; brave and generous; eccentric it is true, but scholarly and learned; and devoted to his family and adopted country.

In the University Library at Tallahassee there hangs an old oil portrait of Prince Murat, and beneath it a photograph of Madame Murat. Connected with the portrait is a very interesting story, but space precludes its recital. Also there is an old chair of Louis V style, with tarnished upholstery, said to have been brought from the palace of the king of Naples.

The old plantation home still stands, but it is fast falling into decay. Soon all those who remember the time of the events related will have also passed away.

EARLY RECORDS OF SOME OF THE WALTONS OF VIRGINIA.

OF THE COUNTIES OF YORK, NEW KENT, BRUNSWICK, LUNENBURG AND CHARLOTTE. (THE LAST TWO WERE IN 1745 A PART OF BRUNSWICK COUNTY.)

BY MRS. WM. C. STUBBS, New Orleans, La.

The evolution of new counties from the original eight great shires seems to have been continuous in the early formation of Virginia. Hence, in tracing the different lines of families, much help may be obtained by a thorough knowledge of the chain of creation of the counties, and their dates of birth and subdivisions.

FROM YORK COUNTY RECORDS, WHICH ALSO INCLUDE NEW KENT RECORDS.

Edward Walton, of New Kent, was witness to a deed in York Co., 1672, from Elizabeth Booth, widow of Patrick Napier, to Robert Booth. (York Records.) New Kent was then a part of York Co.

Richard Walton, merchant of London in 1667, had wife True, whose mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Friend, was the sister of Edward Lockey (d. 1667) of York Co., Va., and of John Lockey, grocer, London. (The Lockeyes had nephews Isaac Collier and Edward Lockey, in Va., to whom Edward Lockey, above, left his estate; and also nieces, Judith, Mary and Ann Lockey. (Judith became wife of Henry Cary, and Mary of John Mihill.)

John Walton, in York Co., with a son Richard in 1673-4, when Christopher Colley made his will, leaving a "cow-calf" to the son Richard. Cattle were so valuable at that period that a cow was worth as much as a small tract of land.

FROM NEW KENT COUNTY, ST. PETER'S PARISH REGISTER.

Edward Walton (died 1720) married Elizabeth ——— (d. 1726) in St. Peter's parish. Issue: Mary (born 1698), William (b. 1700); Thomas (b. 1703); Elizabeth (b. 1707); John (b. 1709).

Robert Walton, married Frances ———, and had issue: Robert (b. 1717); Rebecca (b. 1720); Joseph (b. 1721); George (b. 1724); Frances (b. 1726).

A Mary Walton died 1726, and a Frances Walton died 1721.

John Walton (died 1721?), wife's name not given. Issue: Alice (b. 1721).

George Walton was among the first Justices in Brunswick Co.; and his Associate Justices, in 1732, were William Maclin, John Irby, Henry Fox, Henry Embry, John Wall, Richard Burch, Nathaniel Edwards, William Wynn, and Charles King. The first clerk was Drury Stith; and the attorneys, Clement Read and James Power.

Catherine Walton, of Brunswick Co., Va., married (1737) Nathan Harris (b. 1716), grandson of the Rev. Henry Harris, the immigrant, who came in 1691 from Wales to the James River, Va.,—ancestors of a large and most influential Southern family of that name in Georgia and elsewhere. Their children were Walter (born Brunswick Co., 1739), Nathan, Isaac, David (killed in the Revolution), Elias, Rowland, Herbert, Gideon, Patsy, Jane, Elizabeth, Bowler, Anne and Howell. Of these Walter Harris married Rebecca Lanier, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Lanier. Rebecca Lanier's mother was Elizabeth Washington, daughter of Richard, and granddaughter of John Washington, of Surry Co., Va. The Laniers are the well known family to which the beloved poet Sydney Lanier belonged, and they also have prominent descendants in the South with other surnames.

FROM LUNENBURG CO. RECORDS. (LAND GRANT BOOKS.)

1749 George Walton, 135 acres on the North side of Meherrin River; and in 1753, 850 acres on Mountain Creek. In 1756, 4544 acres, and in 1761, 1120 acres on Stith's creek.

1753 Joseph Walton, 5000 acres on Elk Creek.

1765, George Walton, 1000 acres, and again same year 3000 acres on Sandy Creek.—*Charlotte Co. Land Books.*

LOWER NORFOLK COUNTY.

Elizabeth (or Mary) daughter of Col. Lemuel Mason (b. 1628, d. 1702, Justice of Lower Norfolk Co.), married ———

Walton. Col. Mason was the most influential man of his county, and Col. of Militia, and Burgess 1655-92. He married Ann, daughter of Henry Seawell, and an heiress, and had issue: Thomas, Lemuel, and Col. George (d. 1710), all Justices of Norfolk; and daughters who married, besides Walton, into the Newton, Sayer, Boush, Cocke and into other Thoroughgood families.

WALTONS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Will of Thomas Walton, Chowan Co., 8th May 1719. Mentioned "wife, Ann Walton, of King and Queen Co., Va.", and three sons and two daughters—N. C. *Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. i, p. 83. Timothy Walton, Justice in Chowan Co., 1757. William Walton, also of Chowan Co. Christian Walton married Abraham Hill, of Chowan Co.,—ancestors of the Georgia family of that name around Atlanta. It seems they first went from Virginia to North Carolina.

WALTONS OF GEORGIA. (FROM GEORGIA RECORDS.)

John Walton settled in Richmond Co., Ga., 1770-74; and George, John and Robert entered lands 1784.

George, Thomas, George (2d time), in Wilkes Co., 1783, and John, William and Newell Walton 1781-83. (George was Colonel and Newell Lieutenant, in the Revolution).

George, Jesse, Thomas, Robert, Newell and William in Washington Co., 1790-1800.

Jesse, William, Thomas, Simon and Walker Walton, in Franklin Co., 1790-1800.

George Walton, uncle of "the signer", lived in Wilkes Co., and was a member of its first grand jury in court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery which met 25 Aug. 1779, at Heard's Fort (now Washington) to hang the Tories. Stephen Heard, foreman, and afterwards governor of Georgia.

George Walton, "the signer," was Colonel in the Revolution, and Chief Justice in 1784, when he said to the notable grand jury assembled in Wilkes Co., that "fourteen or fifteen years before (i. e. 1769), he had ridden over that part of Georgia when it was a wilderness, and nothing to be seen but the savage. But the Indian line soon being moved out (1773)

it began to settle, and though the first settlers had been interrupted by a seven or eight years' war, in which they had greatly distinguished themselves, they had also increased in numbers, strength and cultivation to an astonishing degree." Judge Walton had probably been a trader or trader's agent, as he was "a poor youth, and had doubtless worked his way up", says Miss Eliza Bowen (1889) in her *History of Wilkes County, Georgia*. Gov. Walton was born 1740 in Frederick Co., Va., and died 1804, in Augusta, Ga. He was Governor 1779-80, and 1789-90. Madam Le Vert, of Mobile, authoress and one of the prominent Southern women of the last century, was his grand-daughter.

TENNESSEE NEWSPAPER FILES IN THE LIBRARY
OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
WORCESTER, MASS.*

Athens.

The Athens Republican. w.
July 12, 26; September 13, 27, 1867.

The Watchman.
July 9, 1842.

Bristol.

Bristol Gazette. w.
March 24, 1864.

Carthage.

Carthage Gazette. w.
August 13, 1803.
August 20, 1816; Vol. i, No. 1; Vol. iii, No. 39.
Also July 1, 1817.

Western Express. w.
November 21, 1803.

Chattanooga.

The Chattanooga Daily Rebel. d.
December 17, 1862.

Chattanooga Republican. w.
April 13, 1890.

"Justice." w.
December 24, 1887.

The Tradesman.
August 1, 15; September 15; October 1; December 15, 1881.
August 1, 15; September 1, 15; October 1, 1882.

Clarksville.

United States Herald.
August 11, 1810.

Clinton.

Clinton Gazette. w.
March 30, 1888.

*Compiled by Miss Mary Robinson, assistant librarian, American Anti-
quarian Society, for the Alabama Department of Archives and History,
and presented here by the courtesy of the Director, Thomas M. Owen.

Columbia.

The Dixie Farmer.
May 28, 1868.

Dresden.

Tennessee Patriot. w.
October 16, 1839.

Fayetteville.

Standard of the Union.
November 3, 1837.

Greenville.

American Economist and East Tennessee Statesman. w.
April 30, 1825.

Jonesborough.

The Union Flag. (Extra.)
February 18, 1870.

Knoxville.

The Enquirer. w.
March 12, 1828.
May 7, 1828, June 25, 1828.
July 16, August 6, 20, September 24, October 8, 22, 29, 1828.

Knoxville Daily Tribune. d.
November 25, 1888.

Knoxville Gazette.
December 7, 1793.
July 31, 1794.
April 24, July 17, October 23, November 20, December 4, 1795.
May 2, 1796.

Knoxville Register. w.
September 7, 21, 1816.
May 4, 1819.
February 11, 18, 25, March 4, 1825.
August 1, 1832.
November 17, 1859.

The Knoxville Tribune. d. & w.
August 16, 1896.

The Southern Citizen. w.
June 3, 1858.

Western Centinel. w.

March 11, 1809.

June 30, July 14, September 8, 1810.

Wilson's Knoxville Gazette.

June 22, 1808.

Knoxville College.

The Aurora. m.

April, 1890.

Loudon.

The Republican Farmer.

November 10, 1881.

Maryville.

The East Tennessean.

October 26, 1855.

Memphis.

The Chickasaw.

May 1, 1878. (Amateur copy) 12 mo.

The Daily Memphis Avalanche. d.

September 1, 1882.

July 28, 1887.

The Memphis Daily Appeal. d.

June 21, 1862.

Memphis Price Current. w.

March 2, 1861.

The Tidal Wave.

April, 1878 (Amateur copy) 12mo.

Voice of Truth.

April 6, 18, 1878.

M Minnville.

Mountain Echo. w.

January 5, 1816.

Nashville.

The Clarion. w.

February 16, March 8, 1808.

The Clarion and Tennessee Gazette. w.

February 16, April 6, 1813.

The Daily American. d.

October 5, 1876.

Daily Nashville Union.

May 27, 1862.

The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette.

August 10, September 21, 1810.

The Examiner.

May 4, 1814.

Impartial Review and Cumberland Repository. w.

January 18, 25, February 8, August 16, 1806.

The Nashville Clarion.

February 28, March 7, 1821.

The Nashville Daily Union. d.

July 26, 1862.

Nashville Examiner. w.

September 29, October 20, November 3, 10, 24, 1813.

May 25, 1814.

Nashville Republican. w.

November 6, 1824.

The Nashville Republican and State Gazette.

October 27, 1830.

The Nashville Whig.

March 8, 1814.

National Banner.

January 13, 1826.

July 18, 25, Aug. 1, 22, 29; Sept. 5, 17, Oct. 31, 1829.

The National Banner and Nashville Whig. w.

Aug. 11, 18; Sept. 22, 29; Nov. 10, 24; Dec. 8, 29, 1827.

Jan. 5, 19; Feb. 2, 16, 23; March 8, 22; April 19, 26, 1828.

May 3, 10, 23; June 7; July 11; Aug. 9, 16, 30, 1828.

Sept. 6, 20; Oct. 4, 18, 25, 1828.

March 25, 1831.

The Review. w.

Nov. 10, 24; Dec. 1, 15, 29, 1809.

Jan. 11, 18; Feb. 2, 23; March 30; April 6, 27; June 1, 8, 29; July 6, 27, 1810.

Aug. 10, 31; Sept. 14, 21; Oct. 5, 12, 26; Nov. 16; Dec. 7, 14, 1810.

Southern Lumberman. s. m.

August 15; September 15; October 2, 1882.

The Tennessee Baptist. w.

August 9, 1851; March 10, 1855.

The Tennessee Gazette. w.

August 26, 1801.

Tennessee Gazette, and Mero District Advertiser.

June 13; July 20, 1804.

Weekly Union and American. w.

May 21, 1860.

Nashville, Tenn., and Louisville, Ky.

Nashville and Louisville Christian Advocate. w.

March 29, 1850.

November 30, 1854.

Paris.

Paris Republic.

June 9, 1854.

Pulaski.

Tennessee Beacon and Farmers Advocate. w.

June 23, 1832.

Sherwood.

The Helping Hand. m.

December 1885,

February, July, September, October 1886.

January, October, December 1887.

March, May, June, 1888.

DOCUMENTS.

I. HON. WM. R. KING to COL. JNO. W. WOMACK.

The following letter was furnished by Gen. Marcus D. Wright, of Washington, D. C.

Washington City, March 10, 1849.

My Dear Sir

Congress has adjourned without making any provision for the government of California or New Mexico. The fanaticism of the House of Representatives defeated every measure proposed by the Senate to extend to our people there the protection of law. Nothing would suit them which had not the Wilmot Proviso attached; and to that we of the south could never assent, be the consequences what they may, as such a restriction would degrade us below the other States of the Union, sacrifice our constitutional rights, and pave the way to our destruction. Short of this we were willing to make every sacrifice compatible with our honor, to extend the constitution and laws over our citizens on the Pacific, perfectly satisfied to leave it so, theirs to decide, when authorized to form a constitution and State government whether slavery should exist or be prohibited. The reckless and most unjust course of these unprincipled fanatics leaves them in a most unfortunate situation, but much as it is to be regretted, the fault is theirs not ours. They will be justly held responsible before the world for whatever of crime and bloodshed may take place in that region. I am decidedly of the opinion that had the whole South, irrespective of party or of party ties, presented an undivided front in opposition to these aggressions upon our rights, the slavery question which now assumes so threatening an aspect would have been settled by a reasonable compromise, but unfortunately our divisions encourages them to persevere in their mad career, and when it is to terminate God only knows. Gov. Chapman committed a great political blunder in disregarding the claims of North Alabama to have one of the Senators from that section, and I much fear that the divisions which it has produced in our ranks, will eventuate in placing the

political power of our State in the hands of the Whigs. This must be prevented if possible, at almost any individual sacrifice. If I were to judge from the temper which seems generally to prevail north of the mountains, Chapman cannot be re-nominated, and if he were, that his defeat would be almost certain. The proposed convention should carefully examine the whole ground, and adopt such a course as seems most likely to produce harmony. The North must be conciliated, for there is the strength of the Democracy, without whose united action the Whigs will certainly carry the State. Should the North determine to adopt you as their candidate for Governor, you would, I doubt not, be elected without difficulty. But you know as well as I do that their support is essential to success. As regards the Senatorial elections, I am induced to believe from all that I can learn that there will be no serious opposition to me in North Alabama. Col. Clemens is not disposed to run against me, and with that frankness which characterises him he has so stated. If he is a candidate it will be against Fitzpatrick. Col. Terry is my friend, and with the exception of Pope Walker, I am not aware that there is any aspirant for Senatorial honors in that quarter disposed to enter the lists against me—possibly Houston or Hubbard may have such intention but I scarcely think it. Fitzpatrick has not strengthened himself by his absurd letter. But he is supposed to have great popularity in our State, and it is possible that he may be preferred to me. If on my return home I find that any respectable portion of the Democratic party give him a preference, I shall make no effort to defeat their wishes, but cheerfully retire from the contest, and spend the residue of my days in private life. As to the intimations in some of our Newspapers that I should be taken up as the candidate for Governor, I can assure you in all sincerity that under no state of circumstances will I suffer my name to be used for that office. If the people wish me to be their Senator, and manifest it by electing me, I will serve with pleasure, but if they think another will serve them with more ability, and equal fidelity, I shall give place without a murmur, or even a feeling of regret.

I have written you my dear Sir with that unreservedness which belongs to my nature, in communicating with a friend, and which will I trust ever characterise our intercourse. I

expect to be in Alabama in a few weeks, and should be happy to hear from you.

Faithfully and truly,

I am your Fr'd. & Obt. Servt.

WILLIAM R. KING.

COL. J. W. WOMACK.

II. THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION.

The subjoined correspondence was furnished by Duane Mowry, Esq., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in a letter bearing date Sept. 2, 1903.

The letters here offered were discovered by Mr. Mowry among the private papers and documents of the late Ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, for twelve years, from 1857 to 1869, a United States Senator from the State of Wisconsin. Senator Doolittle opposed vigorously the ultra measures of the "Reconstruction Committee" to which Mr. Simmons refers. The letter, however, appears to have been directed to Mr. McCulloch, then Secretary of the Treasury, who passed it over to the Senator.

SECRETARY McCULLOCH'S LETTER.

Treasury Department, April 9, 1866.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed I hand you a letter just received from J. F. Simmons, of Mississippi, with whom I have had some correspondence.

I do not know whether or not the Reconstruction Committee are sending for witnesses at the expense of the Government. If they are, it will be no more than just to the people of Mississippi, who are inclined to accept their situation and be faithful to the Government, that men like Mr. Simmons should be heard in their behalf.

I am, very truly yours,

H. McCULLOCH.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,
U. S. Senate.

MR. J. F. SIMMONS'S LETTER.

Sardis, Panola Co., Miss., March 31, 1866.

Sir:—

You will pardon me for again troubling you, when I inform you that it seems to me to be very important that some one from Mississippi should go before the "Reconstruction Committee," & our friends feel anxious that the Committee should be in the possession of the facts in relation to the subject, as they really exist among us. For instance, a perfect quiet prevails, there is no feeling of hostility to the Gov't., and a settled purpose to uphold it. There is no disposition to evade the payment of taxes, and none whatever to pay the "Confederate debt." On the contrary, the state has even *repudiated* the payment of its own debt created for war purposes.

In case of a foreign war, I believe many would join the U. S. Army, while others would keep out of either because they are tired of war, & I do not believe really that *any* would fight against the U. S. I have talked with many of my old comrades in arms and I am satisfied that Mississippi is in as quiet and peaceable a condition and prepared to be as loyal to the Union as any state in it. Far more so, I am satisfied than prior to the war.

The freedmen are being treated kindly & fairly, & our courts hear & redress their grievances as readily as they do those of white persons.

Northern men are buying & renting lands among us and they are all well received, & in time I have no doubt will be regarded as *of us*.

The policy of the President is *thoroughly* endorsed and every disposition manifested to fulfill all the requirements of the laws of the U. S.

These & various other matters we would like very much to be before the Committee, for we are anxious that the work of "Reconstruction" should be completed. Delay might possibly be regarded as a repulse, & while we are all in a proper frame of mind, my candid opinion is that the Government would be strengthened & its interests promoted by our immediate admission, and thus encouraging the cultivation of fraternal feelings & relations between us & you.

While it would be very inconvenient, yet I am willing, if the Committee desire it, to appear before them at such time as will not conflict with my Courts.

Very Respy.,

J. E. SIMMONS,

(late Major C. S. A.)

HON. HUGH McCULLOCH,

Sec'y.-Try., Washington.

P. S. The Committee will, I presume, send necessary transportation and defray expenses, for the war has reduced us all so that we have no "travelling money" left. If I had I would willingly contribute it to the object in view.

MINOR TOPICS.

THE LOCATION OF NANIPACNA.

As is well known to students of the early Spanish explorations in the Gulf States, in April, 1500, a colony of several hundred souls was established in the Indian town of Nanipacna. This, though short lived, was the first European colony in the Gulf States. From a close study of Davila Padilla's narrative of the De Luna expedition, the writer has come to the conclusion that this Indian town was located on the east side of the Alabama river, in the upper part of Wilcox county, though possibly in the lower part of Dallas county, Alabama. The narrative states that Nanipacna was the largest Indian town that the Spaniards had discovered, having some eighty houses; and from some ruined buildings they judged that it had been greater. The Indians told the Spaniards that "the town had once been famous for the number of its people and the splendid edifices according to the manner of the country, but that the Spaniards who had arrived there in former times had left it as it now was." This town was surely situated a long ways out of the line of De Soto's march, and the latter part of the Indian's report that it had formerly been wasted by the Spaniards, if they referred to De Soto's army, was a falsehood, concocted by the Indians, no doubt, on the spot, for the red man frequently has no scruples in uttering a falsehood, if he thinks it is to his interest to do so.

But to Nanipacna. This surely was a Choctaw town, in correct Choctaw orthography being *Nanik pakna*, meaning "hill top." This shows that this town, which was appropriated by the Spaniards as the site of their colony, was situated upon a high hill, or upon some table-land. Now if on some high hill, on the east side of the Alabama river in Wilcox county, there can be found a large village site, this might possibly be the site of Nanipacna. The evidence would be conclusive, if upon such a site any European relics have been discovered, or shall hereafter be discovered. For, on the abandonment of the place, the narrator, in enumerating some of the articles and effects left there, mentions especially "abandoned mer-

chandise of value, as iron ware." Thus an iron relic would be a not unexpected "find" on the site of this village.

The writer has written this article in the hope that it may attract the attention of some arcæologist in Wilcox county, who may thereby be induced to make an effort to discover the location of this ancient Indian town, where was established the first European colony in the Gulf States.

HENRY S. HALBERT.

Meridian, Miss.

INDIAN MASSACRE OF THE LONG CANE SETTLEMENT, S. C.

In the letter from Hon. John C. Calhoun to Charles H. Allen, published on pages 439-441 of the May number of this *Magazine*, Mr. Calhoun refers to the Indian massacre in 1760 of the people of the Long Cane settlement in South Carolina, and mentions the fact that his father had visited Charles Town shortly afterwards and had given the *Gazette* an account of the affair. From Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., of the Charleston Historical Society, we have received the following copies of this account and of a previous account, which had been brought from Ninety-Six by Mr. Aaron Price:

"Yesterday sen'night the whole of the *Long Cane* Settlers, to the Number of 150 Souls, moved off with most of their Effects in Waggons; to go toward *Augusta* in *Georgia*, and in a few Hours after their setting off, were surprised and attacked by about 100 Cherokees on Horseback, while they were getting their Waggons out of a boggy Place. They had amongst them forty Gunners, who might have made a very good Defence, but unfortunately their Guns were in the Waggons; the few that recovered theirs, fought the Indians Half an Hour, and were at last obliged to fly: In the action they lost 7 Waggons and 40 of their People killed or taken (including Women and Children) the Rest got safe to *Augusta*; whence an Express arrived here with the same Account, on Tuesday Morning."—*The South Carolina Gazette*, Saturday, February 9, 1760.

"Mr. Patrick Calhoun, one of the unfortunate Settlers at Long-Canes, who were attacked by the Cherokees on the 1st Instant, as they were removing their Wives, Children and best Effects, to *Augusta*, in *Georgia*, for Safety, is just come to

Town, and informs us, 'That the whole of those Settlers might be about 250 Souls, 55 or 60 of them fighting Men; that their Loss in that Affair amounted to about 50 Persons, chiefly Women and Children, with 13 loaded Waggons and Carts; that he had since been at the Place where the Action happened, in order to bury the Dead, and found only 20 of their Bodies, most inhumanely butchered; that the *Indians* had burnt the Woods all around, but had left the Waggons and Carts there empty and unhurt; and that he believes that all the fighting men would return to and fortify the Long-Cane Settlement, were part of the Rangers so stationed as to give them some Assistance and Protection.'—'' *The South Carolina Gazette*, Saturday, February 23, 1760.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ERRATA:—In the July number of this *Magazine*, p. 48, line 2, in (7) "1722" should be "1772;" on p. 49, line 7 from bottom, a period should follow "David Crawford," and the next sentence begin, "William Crawford."

DR. J. W. GARNER, author of "RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSISSIPPI," published by the Macmillan Company in 1901, has been appointed Instructor in History and Public Law in the University of Pennsylvania. Last year he was Lecturer in History in Columbia University.

SENATOR THOMAS H. WILLIAMS.—Replying to your query (July, 1903, p. 67,) for a sketch of Senator Thomas H. Williams, I refer you to the following descendants: E. H. Williams, Girsham, Chickasaw county, Mississippi, and Miss Nina Harwood, 1426 Euterpe street, New Orleans, La.

PIONEER.

Birmingham, Ala.

YANCEY AND CUDWORTH DATA WANTED.—The father of Messrs. William Lowndes Yancey and of Benjamin C. Yancey was Benjamin Cudworth Yancey, son of Major James Yancey, of Laurens District, S. C., and wife, who was Miss ——— Cudworth. Information is desired concerning the Yancey and Cudworth families, the former from Virginia and the latter from Massachusetts.

PRESIDENT JUAREZ OF MEXICO.—Students interested in the career of this distinguished Mexican will find a valuable authority in Executive Document No. 31 of the Thirty-ninth Congress, first session, 1866, (8 vo. pp. 20.) It contains a number of original documents and correspondence of great importance. See article of Clarence Ousley in this *Magazine*, November 1902, Vol. I, p. 179.

HENDERSON DATA WANTED.—Samuel Henderson (1700-1783) first of Hanover county, Virginia, later of Granville county, North Carolina, was the father of numerous children; among them Judge Richard Henderson, the colonizer, Pleasant, Nathaniel, etc. The maiden name of Nathaniel's second wife, who was "the widow Morgan," is much desired."

THE OLDEST FEMALE COLLEGE.—In *Some Truths of History* (1903), briefly reviewed in the last issue of this *Magazine* (July, 1903, p. 71), the author, Mr. T. K. Oglesby, has the statement that the Wesleyan Female College is the first college founded in the world empowered to grant diplomas and confer degrees on women. Outside of the claim put forth by the institution itself proof of the statement is desired.

HISTORICAL NEWS.

REVOLUTIONARY MONUMENTS IN TENNESSEE.—A monument to Revolutionary soldiers buried in Tennessee is being built by the D. A. R. of this state at Nashville. This movement was inaugurated by Mrs. James S. Pilcher during her State Regency, and "Old Glory" Chapter at Franklin, Tenn., was the first to respond to her call with a contribution. A movement is also on foot to erect a monument to General James Rob-inson founder of the city of Nashville.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REUNION UNITED SONS OF CONFEDERATE VET-ERANS.—The Eighth Annual reunion of the general confederation, U. S. C. V., was held at New Orleans, La., May 19-21, 1903. The thirteenth annual reunion of the United Confederate Veterans was held at the same time. The occasion was highly stimulating to the patriotic, historic and benevolent purposes of these organizations. The attendance was large and satisfactory. Wm. McL. Fayssoux, of New Orleans, was elected commander-in-chief of the U. S. C. V. The *Minutes of the Reunion* have recently been issued in pamphlet form (8vo. pp. 112, *illustrated.*) See this *Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1902-3, pp. 163-4.

PROCEEDINGS AND MEMORIAL OF A CONFERENCE OF CONFEDERATE ROSTER COMMISSIONERS AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JULY 20-21, 1903, (8 vo. pp. 16.)—This pamphlet gives a full outline of the proceedings of the Confederate Roster Commissioners who met in Conference in the State Library, Atlanta, together with a list of the commissioners from the several Southern States, the "Communications from the War Department" in reference to the proposed compilation of Rosters, and the "Memorial" prepared by the Commissioners to be submitted to the War Department. There were present in the Conference Gov. Allen D. Candler, Compiler of State Records, Atlanta, Ga.; Hon. B. F. Dixon, State Auditor, Raleigh, N. C.; Hon. M. P. Tribble, Confederate Roster Commissioner, Columbia, S. C.; Gen. Leon Jastremski, Private Secretary to the Governor, Baton Rouge, La.; Hon. Dunbar Rowland, of Jackson, Mississippi and Thomas M. Owen, Esq., Director of the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Ala. The "Memorial" was signed by the above Commissioners in the Conference, and a mailed copy was signed by the following: Col. S. H. Nowlin, Compiler of Military Records, Little Rock, Ark.; Hon. John A. Hulin, Adjutant-General of Texas, Austin; Hon. H. H. Hannah, Adjutant-General of Tennessee, Nashville; Governor A. H. Montague, Richmond, Va.; Governor A. M. Dockery, Jefferson City, Mo. The work of preparing rosters of Confederate soldiers will be pushed vigorously and thoroughly, and every effort is being made to have the roster complete and historically true.

BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS.

The West Virginia Historical Magazine for July 1903 has biographies of James Rumsey and family, Colonel Moses Shepherd, and Judge Lewis Summers. It repeats the claim of James Rumsey as the first inventor of the steamboat. Colonel Moses Shepherd was the grandson of the founder of Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, July 1903, contains "The Mejia Expedition", by F. H. Turner; the third installment of J. H. Kuykendall's "Reminiscences of Early Texans"; "Mrs. Mary Jane Briscoe", by Mrs. Adele B. Looscan; "Letters from Sam Houston," "Book Reviews and Notices", "Notes and Fragments", and "Affairs of the Association". Every issue of this *Quarterly* has original matter of great historical value.

Le Canal Transisthmique Etude D' Histoire Diplomatique Americaine. Par Charles-Henry Huberich, de la Faculte de droit de l' Universite du Texas. Paris, 1903, (8vo. pp. 52.) An excellent discussion of the various treaties regarding the Nicaragua and Panama Canal routes. Professor Huberich has lately been elected a member of the Societe des Etudes Legislatifs, of Paris, France.

The American Monthly Magazine, July, 1903, has an interesting article, *The Romance of the Revolution* by Alice B. Bartram. Its *Revolutionary Records* mentions as "Real Daughters" of the American Revolution, Miss Sabrina Martin of Orwell, Vermont, of Hand's Cove Chapter; Mrs. Eliza Melvin Shrader of Iowa City, Iowa, of Pilgrim Chapter; Mrs. F. B. Moreman Thomas of Auburn, Ala., and Miss Mary Anderson, of Philadelphia, both of Light Horse Harry Lee Chapter, of Auburn, Ala.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, July 1903, continues from the April number the "Papers of the Second Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party in South Carolina," November 1775, March 1776. "The Letters of Henry Laurens" to public men of that period, also his letters to his son John, are valuable sources of historical information. Other articles in the Magazine are "Letters of Rev. Samuel Thomas 1702 to 1710;" "South Carolina Gleanings in England." "William Smith and Some of his Descendants," by A. S. Salley, Jr.; Historical notes on the Rhett Genealogy, and a brief notice of the death in California of Judge Robert Y. Hayne, the grandson of Robert Y. Hayne, the distinguished United States Senator and Governor of South Carolina.

A FREE LANCE OF THE STREETS AND OTHER STORIES. By Mrs. James W. Rogers. The Abbey Press, New York, London and Montreal, Publishers. 8 vo. pp. 207. *Illustrated.*

A touching story of heroic sacrifice on the part of a boy to protect and support a little waif in Mobile, Ala.; a love and war episode in New Orleans; a dastardly officer thwarted; a faithful old negro's search for his young master, a Confederate prisoner in Ohio; form the outline of the chapters. The book has some good matter, and one will hardly lay it aside unread after beginning to read it, but the improbable climaxes are defects.

A GENTLEMAN OF THE SOUTH. By William Garrott Brown. The Macmillan Company, New York, Publishers, 1903. (8 vo. pp. 232; *illustrated.*)

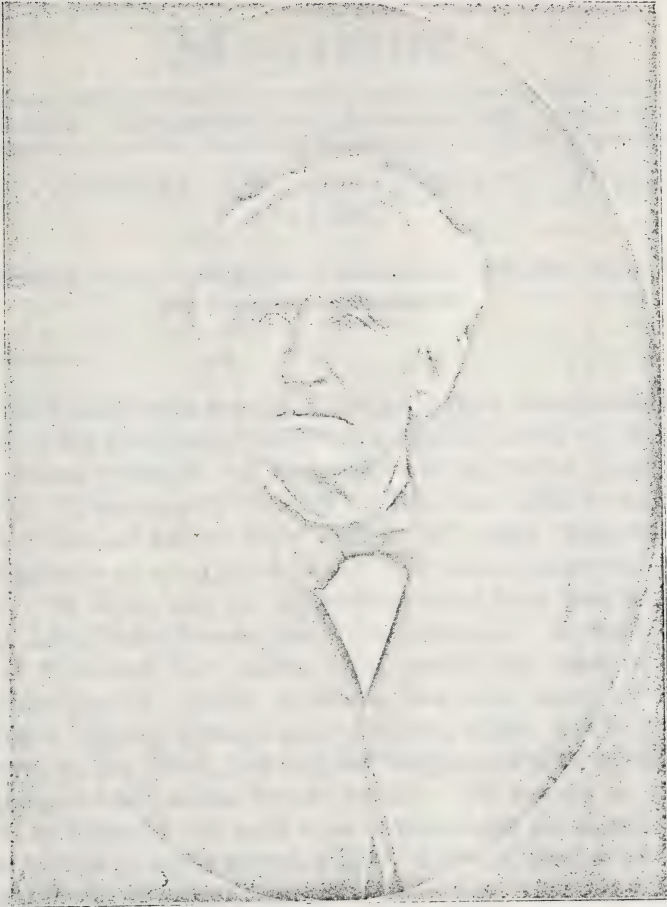
This novel purports to be "a memory of the Black Belt from the manuscript memoirs of the late Colonel Stanton Elmore." It was published in May 1903, and twice reprinted in June. Its story is based on the unhappiness resulting from the duel of fathers and culminating in the duel of their two sons. The families settled neighboring plantations in the Black Belt; and for years were close friends. Estrangement, duels, love, and disappointment, together with the blending of Indian magnanimity in Pushmataha, the great Choctaw chief, and the greed of gain in some of his tribe after his death, make a readable novel. The book is in bold type and of good mechanical finish.

THE LITTLE SHEPHERD OF KINGDOM COME. By John Fox. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, Publishers, 1903. (8 vo. pp. 404. *Illustrated.*)

The book opens with a boy and a dog witnessing the burial of friends in the Kentucky mountains. The boy learns that he is to be taken by a despised neighbor, and to forestall this apprenticeship, he starts with the dog over the mountains. A dog fight wins him friends and a home. Reared in a retired mountain region he shows a noble spirit, and gains from a schoolmaster knowledge of the greater world. His parents died before he was old enough to recollect them, and he is discovered to be the namesake and kinsman of a bluegrass Kentucky gentleman who takes him to his home and educates him. The Civil War coming on the boy joined the Federal army, much to the chagrin of his bluegrass kinsman. Neighbors parted for the struggle, some joining the Federals and some joining the Confederates. A fine description is given of the dashing Confederate, John Morgan, and his military movements, of the breaking of friendly and kindred ties, of the wreck and ruin to Confederate homes, and of reconciliation and marriages after the war.

REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR. By General John B. Gordon, Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904, (8 vo. pp. 474.)

In this work General Gordon reviews the whole period of the war, portraying the spirit of the people from the start to the close, limning the characters of officers and privates, and explaining the plans and progress of nearly all the great battles in which he was engaged. He tells the story of Vicksburg and Helena as links to the chain of events, pronouncing Vicksburg the culmination of Confederate disaster. He depicts the fierce animosity of the East Tennessee and Kentucky combatants with the family feuds and resultant suffering. While the whole book is full of history, probably the most valuable chapters are those describing the battles of Gettysburg and Cedar Creek, and these because they give the "fatal halts" which, as General Gordon believes, brought Confederate defeat. The free discussion of Confederate and Federal commanders, of the glorious spirit of American manhood and womanhood, of the "war by the brave against the brave," is a lesson in magnanimity and virtue which will tend largely to eradicate sectional prejudices and to invite a just appreciation of the issues involved in the war between the North and the South.



SUTTON S. SCOTT,

CONFEDERATE STATES COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. II, No. 3. MONTGOMERY, ALA., NOVEMBER, 1903. Whole No. 9

SOME ACCOUNT OF CONFEDERATE INDIAN AFFAIRS.

By SUTTON S. SCOTT, Auburn, Ala., Commissioner of Indian Affairs for
the Confederate Government.

I.

The Confederate Bureau of Indian Affairs was established by act of the Provisional Congress, approved March 15, 1861.* Hon. David Hubbard, of Alabama, was appointed Commissioner.† It was mainly through the influence of the Secretary of War, General LeRoy Pope Walker, of whose Department the Bureau was constituted a part, that this appointment was made. No better man for the position could have been found in the Confederate States than Major Hubbard. He was a native of Tennessee; born about 1795; passed the years of his early manhood in North Alabama; had seen much of the Cherokee Indians, perhaps other Alabama tribes, before their removal to the West, and was well acquainted with the leading men, at least, of the former nation. On coming to Alabama, he followed for some time at Huntsville his trade, that of carpentering, while studying law. He was elected to the legislature in 1827, and repeatedly thereafter. In fact, with the exception of two terms in Congress—the sessions of 1839-40 and 1849-50, from the district subsequently represented by George S. Houston, he was in one branch or the other of the General Assembly of Alabama for the larger part of the time between his first election and the breaking out of the War.

**Official War Records*, Series IV, vol. iii, p. 944.

†*Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol. i, p. 1176.

Major Hubbard was a rough and strong man—broad-minded and big-hearted—and an intelligent friend of the Indians.

Of course, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established, there was but little or no work for it to do; the chief pre-requisite in that behalf was wanting; there were no Confederate Indians. It was organized at a date thus early, however, as one of the steps preliminary to the making of treaties with some of the red men of the West, especially with the five civilized nations occupying the territory between Kansas and Texas—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles. In pursuance of a resolution of the Confederate Congress, adopted March 5, 1861, President Davis appointed Albert Pike a Commissioner of the Government to all the Indian tribes west of Arkansas and south of Kansas.*

According to Series one, volume four, of the Official War Records, where the treaties are fully set out, Pike, during the months of July, August, September and October, 1861, concluded treaties with all five of the civilized nations, the Reserve Indians, and several other small tribes living on the borders of the Indian Territory. The President, by a message dated December 12, 1861,† submitted these treaties to Congress; and all of them were duly ratified before the close of the year.‡

It should be mentioned that Major Hubbard, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was ordered by the Secretary of War, May 14, 1861, to proceed to the Indian country, and assist in the work of treating with these Indians. He endeavored to comply with this order, but was prostrated by a serious attack of pneumonia soon after entering Arkansas. He wrote, however, a characteristic letter to John Ross, Chief of the Cherokees, while negotiations were going on with that nation.§

After turning over his treaty-making work to the Confederate authorities, Pike was appointed a brigadier general, and assigned to the command of the Indian country. Before leaving Richmond he labored assiduously to gather up, and have sent out, the necessary supplies for his command. He told me before he left the capital, that he had secured about

* *Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol. i, p. 785.

† *Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol. i, p. 785.

‡ *Idem*, p. 813.

§ *Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. xiii, p. 497.

everything he needed in the way of arms, ammunition and clothing for his troops, or such assurances from the proper authorities that these supplies would be sent to him immediately, as were perfectly reliable and satisfactory; and he seemed very proud of his success.

The order assigning him to duty was from the Adjutant and Inspector General's office at Richmond, dated November 22, 1861, and reads as follows: "The Indian country west of Arkansas and north of Texas is constituted the department of Indian Territory; and Brigadier General Albert Pike, Provisional Army, is assigned to the command of the same. The troops of this department will consist of the several Indian regiments raised or to be raised within the limits of the department. By command of the Secretary of War."*

General Pike, after he assumed command of the Indian department, was confronted with an order of the War Department assigning General Van Dorn to the command of the Trans-Mississippi district, including the Indian country, dated January 10, 1862.† This order did not directly and unequivocally abrogate the order of the previous September to General Pike making the Indian Territory a separate and independent department—that was the intention, no doubt, and the meaning of it. A conflict of jurisdiction between the two commanders was the result—a conflict, which was seriously embittered by the seizure on the part of General Van Dorn of many of the supplies for the Indian troops so laboriously collected by General Pike while at Richmond.‡ The jurisdictional conflict thus started, became worse after General Thomas C. Hindman had been assigned, not by the War Department, but by General Beauregard, to the command of the Trans-Mississippi district.§ Under it General Hindman was guilty of some violent acts and General Pike of some foolish ones, both together producing wide-spread disorders in the Indian country, which finally culminated in, and were intensified by, the arrest of General Pike on orders proceeding from General Hindman.||

* *Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. viii, p. 690.

† *Idem*, p. 734.

‡ Letter to President, in *Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. xiii, p. 880.

§ *Idem*, p. 28.

|| *Idem*, p. 980-1.

The contention was purely a military matter, between military officers of the government; and it is only alluded to here because of its effect upon the operations of the Indian bureau and the general welfare of the great body of the Indians committed to its charge.

The illegal seizures of supplies, arms, money and clothing intended for the Indians, of course produced dissatisfaction among them, which was somewhat aggravated by delay in sending out the annuities promised them under treaty. These troubles, and others connected with the management of the Indians, appeared to the government so important and urgent, that it was deemed advisable to send an officer from Richmond charged with the duty of paying over the money due the several nations, and, at the same time, to make known to them officially the determination of the government to comply with all its treaty stipulations in their behalf and its wish to protect them in all their rights and privileges.*

As I was the only officer of the Indian bureau at the seat of the Government—Hon. David Hubbard having resigned the Commissionship of Indian Affairs—the weighty and responsible duties referred to, were, of course, placed upon me. The facilities for carrying out the wishes of the Government were hurriedly provided, and with full instructions from the Secretary of War, I, as Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, almost as soon as the design became fixed—September 13, 1862—was on my way to the Trans-Mississippi department. The difficulty of securing transportation, after having crossed the Mississippi river at Vicksburg, made the latter part of the journey somewhat slow and tedious. I, however, reached Little Rock, the headquarters of General Holmes, the Commandant of the Trans-Mississippi department, early in October. He seemed impressed with the importance of the action of the government for removing the dissatisfaction and troubles among the Indians, and did what he could to help me on my way.

I saw enough of General Holmes, during the few days of my stay at Little Rock, to convince me that he was a great and good man; but, at the same time, I was not without some fear of his being, as a general, hardly fitted, because of bodily

**Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol. ii, pp. 352-3.

infirmities, on the one hand, and exceeding kindness of heart, on the other, for the prompt and vigorous discharge of the stern and complicated duties of his responsible post. But what General Holmes may perhaps have lacked in vigor and promptness, was fully supplied—indeed more than supplied—by one of his lieutenants, General Thomas C. Hindman, whom I also met at Little Rock. I simply add my impression, that, while General Hindman did many indefensible things when commanding in the West, he did them with an eye single to what he conceived to be the best interests of the Confederacy.

I entered the Indian country by way of Fort Smith, about October 15, 1862, and proceeded at once to Doaksville, the capital of the Choctaw nation.* Subsequently I met the Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles at their respective agencies, and the remnant of the Cherokees under the leadership of Standwatie at Fort Gibson. At each meeting I had before me in council all the leading men of the nation thus visited, with a large part of the rank and file. My talks to them—after having paid to them their annuities—with regard to the duties they owed themselves and the Confederacy, and the hopes and wishes of the latter to protect them in the enjoyment of their liberties, were well received. In truth, scarcely any talk was necessary to bring about a favorable state of mind on their part. The mere fact of the government having sent an officer all the way from Richmond to confer with them, was sufficient of itself to satisfy them of its good will and fatherly care.† In spite of the loss of promised arms and clothing by unlawful military seizure, in spite of bickering and strife among their army officers, I left them, in every instance, as far as I could learn, resolved to stand by the Confederacy “at every hazard and to the last extremity.”

In visiting, for the transaction of my official business, the several nations of Indians, I used an ambulance to carry me from place to place, generally with no company except the driver. It was frequently necessary for me to camp out at night. I always went with considerable sums of money on my person to pay annuities, etc. In order to make these payments, I had to notify the headmen of every nation several

**Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. xiii, p. 890.

†*Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol ii, pp. 352-4.

days in advance, when and where to expect me; so that no inconsiderable number of the Indians, to whom payments were to be made, knew every night exactly where I was resting. Yet, in all my journeyings over the Territory, occupying weeks and covering hundreds of miles, often at night known to be in an isolated and defenceless camp, I was never interrupted.

These facts display an honesty and good faith on the part of the sons of the forest and prairie rarely to be met with among people more highly civilized and enlightened.

I did not visit the Reserve,—that part of the Territory lying between the 98th and 100th parallels of longitude and the Red and Canadian rivers,—upon which many little bands of wild prairie Indians, Comanches, Wichitas, Toncawes, Caddos, etc., had been settled, and were being fed at the expense of the government. When preparing to start from Fort Washita in the Chickasaw county to visit the Reserve, I was met by the disastrous news of the agency there having been attacked by a number of marauding Indians, who, after burning the agency-building, killed the agent, Leeper, and three or four of the government's white employees under him. I deemed it advisable to ascertain the truth of this report, and with an escort of troops provided by General Pike I proceeded as far as Arbuckle, where the news was fully confirmed, except the killing of Leeper. He had been concealed by an old Indian woman, and made his escape after the departure of the marauders. I also learned that it was unnecessary for me to proceed farther, as all the Indians of the Reserve had run away. I made the best arrangements I could for the preservation of the government property left; for getting the Indians to return; and for feeding them when they did so. I looked upon the Reserve as one of the important defences of Northern Texas against the incursions of wild Indians from the plains, and that it should, by all means, be re-established and kept up.*

I left Fort Washita, on my return to the East, in the early part of November, 1862. At that place I saw General Pike for the last time. He had resigned his command, but

**Official War Record*, Series I, Vol. xiii, pp. 919-20, and also Series IV, Vol. ii, pp. 354-6.

had received no notification of its acceptance. At the very time we were making our adieus to each other, soldiers were out, under orders from General Hindman, for his arrest.*

Had it been told me then that such was the case, although I had some knowledge of the strained condition of affairs military in the Indian country, I would have been inexpressibly shocked. Pike from momentary impulse, or from mistaken necessity, was led to say and do, more than once, improper and unsoldier-like things, but, he was perfectly true and loyal to the Confederacy. He made many sacrifices for the South,—let us hope that the South will fully weigh and consider his actions and his sacrifices, and do his memory justice.

I passed through the Indian country, after leaving Fort Washita, arriving at Fort Smith November 27, and, at Richmond, between the first and middle of Decembar, 1862.—My report was made to the Secretary of war January 12, 1863.† About a month and a half afterwards—February 26—I was appointed by President Davis Commissioner of Indian Affairs; which office I held until the end of the Confederacy. It may be well to remark that I had been acting as Commissioner since the resignation of Hon. David Hubbard some months before.

II.

I left Richmond for my second visit to the Indian country, May 24, 1863. Because of his sickness, when I reached Little Rock, in July, I was unable to see General Holmes, who, at the time, was in command of the district of Arkansas, including the Indian Territory. He had been relieved of the command of the Trans-Mississippi department, the previous March; General E. Kirby Smith having been assigned to that responsible position.‡

Under General Holmes, General William Steele was in command of the Confederate Indian forces. After visiting General Steele at his headquarters near Fort Gibson in the Creek country, I proceeded to different points in the Territory, and paid the Indians their annuities, and made arrangements for feeding the Reserve, and other destitute Indians. I re-

**Official War Record*, Series I, Mol. xiii, p. 980.

†*Official War Record*, Series IV, Vol. ii, pp. 352-7.

‡*Official War Record*, Series I, Vol. xxii, part ii, p. 798.

ceived a letter, dated August 7, from General Steele giving a gloomy account of his little army.* I had seen enough with my own eyes to satisfy me of his pressing needs, and had written to General Holmes urging the importance of giving General Steele, if possible, immediate relief.† Soon after I laid all the facts with regard to the wretched state of the Indian troops, especially in the way of arms and ammunition, before General Smith, the department commander at Marshall, Texas. He promised to do what he could in the matter, and he did it.‡

In accordance with suggestions made to me by the Secretary of War before I left Richmond, I had frequent consultations with General Smith at Shreveport, during my stay in the Trans-Mississippi department; and he always appeared to me to be the right man in the right place. He was easily approached on all matters of business, listening courteously to suggestions, weighed them fairly and deliberately, and then did what he thought best for the good of the service. In my intercourse with him, which was exceedingly pleasant, he always reminded me of the idea I had formed of General Greene of revolutionary times.

The Indian country was in such a ferment, there was so much depression at home and abroad within its limits; that I felt it my duty to remain in it as long as possible, and do my part—an inconsiderable one, it is true—by talking to the leaders, and the Indians generally, and by such other means as were available, to remove distrusts, allay discontents, and thus prevent approaches to demoralization. I consequently was in the country, or on its immediate border in Texas, about four months.§

I left Shreveport, General Smith's headquarters, *en route* for Richmond, on horseback, about the middle of October. I crossed the Mississippi river in a canoe, swimming my horse by its side; and, with many windings and turnings, chiefly through swamps in the vicinity of the great stream, to evade straggling parties of Federal soldiers from Vicksburg and Port Hudson, I made my way slowly and painfully across the deso-

**Official War Record*, Series I, Vol. xxii, Part ii p. 957.

†*Idem*, p. 1097.

‡*Official War Record*, Series I, vol. xxii, Part ii, pp. 1095-6.

§*Idem*, pp. 1030-1.

lated country. I reached the railroad in the latter part of October, or first of November, thoroughly worn-out by my long, disagreeable, and, in part, perilous ride. I do not recollect now where I struck the railroad. I am inclined to think (although the place may have been farther east) that it was at Jackson, the beautiful capital of the state, which upon its evacuation a few months before by General Joseph E. Johnston, was made to feel the red hand of the Federal general, who, it is said, believed war to be hell, and who, certainly did his part towards making it so.

Here I found some east-bound trains, or rather fragments of trains, their engines puffing and blowing, evidently about ready to start, all of which was very gratifying to me; but I found, at the same time, which was not at all gratifying, that in them, or rather on them,—for they were made up mainly of platform cars,—almost every square inch of space was occupied by soldiers. I was too weak and jaded to endure such a crush as was here offered me, even with a seat, and a seat was evidently out of the question. I had about made up my mind to wait for another train; but with much reluctance, as I had no means of knowing how long I might be delayed by the transportation of troops and the scarcity of cars, when an officer was stopped immediately in my front by some obstruction perhaps in his way, and civilly addressed me. His cordial manner led me to tell him who I was, and also of my long and fatiguing trip from the Indian country, and my anxiety to get to the Confederate capital. It was a fortunate meeting, and a fortunate talk for me, as he took me at once to a box car, and introduced me and my situation to General Johnston. The General courteously invited me to take a seat, and consider myself at home; "that is," continued he, with a smile, "if you can stretch your imagination so far as to consider such a place as this—a home."

I had seen the renowned Confederate chieftain before, but this was the first time I had ever been brought in personal contact with him. He was busy giving orders and receiving messages; and, as I sat alone in the corner of the car, I had a fine opportunity to study the man. It was only the soldier part of him that was turned to me at the time; and I fancied from his manner, and from the few words that reached me,

as he curtly gave his orders, or emphatically responded to what was said to him, that I could see in him a grim, stern, unbending resolution to meet every fate with dignity; a serenity not to be moved by any disaster; and a wise, cool, and deliberate collectedness, which made him equal to, and ready for, all emergencies—traits, indeed, which his whole history has shown were truly and unmistakably his.

I have no idea how long I remained seated alone in the car, watching what was going on around me. It may have been only a few minutes—it may have been an hour or two. I was so deeply interested in my study of the man, that I took no note of time or its passage. When all was quiet in the car—the business having been dispatched, and the trains started—General Johnston took a chair near me, and commenced a conversation upon ordinary topics, apparently as free and easy, as if there was no trouble, no worry, no anxiety for him in the world. The stream of his talk flowed evenly, smoothly, unbrokenly on; frequently brightened by suggestions crisply and tersely put, which made his remarks extremely interesting. Of course, allusion was made by me to the important occurrences of recent date in the Mississippi department, (he would never have spoken of them at all without it), and among them, of course, the fall of Vicksburg. He referred to them in a general way; and although I knew enough of the secret facts with regard to some of these occurrences, especially the last, to satisfy me that his feelings could scarcely be amiable in reviewing them—that, in short, he was bound to feel mortified and indignant, as the commander of the department, at the manner, in which his plans had been interfered with, and the unjust criticisms to which his conduct had been subjected,—not one word of bitter comment upon either escaped his lips. While speaking of his order to General Pemberton to evacuate Vicksburg before its investment, and his failure to comply, I interrupted General Johnston for the first time:

“General,” I remarked, “we all know now that your order to General Peniberton was a wise one—was the only step possible to save his army. But we would not have known it had he obeyed you. The people of the Confederacy gener-

ally—many of them in high official positions,* as well as the masses—were supremely anxious,—I might even say, without the least exaggeration, frantically anxious,—for Vicksburg to be held, and firmly and confidently believed it could be held. Didn't you know then, when you gave the order to General Pemberton, that the evacuation of Vicksburg under that order would ruin—pardon me, General, I use a strong word, but I could not use a softer, and do justice to the subject;—didn't you know that it would ruin you in the estimation of the government, as well as a large part of your fellow-citizens of the Confederate states?"

Without a moment's hesitation he replied: "Yes, I knew it." The words dropped from his lips one by one. He looked the hero that he really was, as he rose from his chair, and slowly, deliberately repeated: "Yes, I knew it; and I knew more. I was sure, that, under the circumstances, the chances were decidedly against my ever being able to successfully vindicate my action. "But," continued he, with a ring in his voice, which betrayed the depth and intensity of his feelings, "I was satisfied that the Confederacy could do without General Johnston, while I did not believe it could do without the veteran army under General Pemberton, whose loss was a certainty, if that army was once cooped-up in Vicksburg."

I entered Richmond about the middle of November. The Secretary of War, in his report to Congress, dated November 26, 1863, alludes to the fact of my having just returned from the Indian country, and speaks of my report on Indian affairs as being herewith submitted. In the volume of *Official War Records*, which contains this report of the Secretary, it is stated, in a foot-note, that my report "was not found." This is the case with one made soon after to the Secretary, of which he acknowledges the receipt in his report to Congress, dated April 3, 1864. I regret the loss of these two official papers, as

*To show that the government was just as wild as the people of the Confederacy on the subject of holding Vicksburg. parts of two telegrams from Mr. Seddon, Secretary of War, to General Johnston, during the siege, are given. It will be perceived that the language is decidedly "strenuous." The first telegram, dated June 16, says: "Vicksburg must not be lost without a desperate struggle. The interest and honor of the Confederacy forbid it." The second telegram, dated June 21, says: "I leave you free to follow the most desperate course the occasion may demand. Rely upon it the eyes and hopes of the whole Confederacy are upon you."

they would have been of service to me in preparing this paper.*

III.

In the early part of the year 1864, I was ordered by the Secretary of War to prepare for another visit to the Indian country. As it seemed probable from the condition of Confederate affairs, both in the East and the West, that I might be detained for some time in the Trans-Mississippi department, if indeed, I should be able to get back during the year, detailed instructions, in writing, were furnished me.† Having many preparations to make, it was several weeks after receipt of instructions before I was ready to proceed on my journey; and when I did set out, owing to breaks in the railroads, I made but slow progress to Meridian. The progress from that point was much slower, as the travel was on horseback across the State of Mississippi, Louisiana, and a part of Northern Texas. So slow was it, that General Samuel B. Maxey, who had succeeded General Steele in command of the Indian country, in a communication, dated February 26, to General Smith about

*The references in the two reports of the Secretary of War are given below. The one dated November 26, reads as follows: "It is gratifying to be able to state that our relations with the Indians, under the protection of this government, continues to be of satisfactory character. Though there have been some instances of disturbances among individuals, as were to be expected under the machinations of our enemies, and the withdrawal of our troops from the coterminous territory, under military operations in adjoining states, yet Mr. Scott, our Indian Agent, [Commissoner], who has just returned from a visit to, and a sojourn among them of some months, gives assurance that they continue unshaken in their loyalty to the government, and in their devotion to our cause and sacred rights. His report accompanying this will furnish details of interest."—*Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol. ii, p. 1017.

The one dated April 8, reads thus: "Attention is invited to the accompanying report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Credit is due to that officer for the danger and privations he has endured in twice visiting the distant abodes of the Indian tribes. His presence and influence among them have proved salutary in affording encouragement and maintaining fidelity. They should not suffer from the changes, which have been made in our financial system, the necessity and wisdom of which they cannot be expected to have foreseen or now to understand. The recommendation, therefore, by the Commissioner, of timely legislation to authorize substitution of the new currency for the old, without loss to them, is approved and seconded. The great body of the Indians, notwithstanding their losses, are attached to the Confederacy, and confident in its fortunes, and with reasonable consideration, for their peculiar wants and feelings, may easily be retained in amity and fidelity."—*Official War Records*, Series IV, Vol. iii, p. 342.

†*Official War Records*. Series Vol. I, 1. xxxiv, Part ii, pp. 828-9.

the bad state of Indian affairs, said: "To make matters worse, the annuity is due, and has for some time been expected with Commissioner Scott; but neither the Commissioner, nor the money has come."* And this is not all:—the progress was so slow, that it induced General Smith to inform the War Department of the probability of my death *en route*—of my having been, no doubt, killed amid the wilds of the great Mississippi swamps by marauding soldiers of the enemy.

I reached the Mississippi river in the vicinity of Bruinsburg, in July. General John H. Forney, who had been ordered to report for service to General Smith was there to cross also. Information, no doubt, of our intended crossing had been communicated by Yankee sympathizers on the bank to Federal gunboats on the river, and the latter were keeping a sharp lookout for us, as was evident from their frequent passing up and down the river in our immediate vicinity. I was told that men from one of the boats had made a raid upon the place where General Forney was resting, and came very near capturing him.

After waiting some days on the man who was engaged to put me over the river, but who refused to make the venture while gunboats were about, I was gratified to have him tell me one night that the coast seemed clear—no gunboats having been seen or heard of for several hours—and that he would attempt the crossing soon after daylight next morning. I was at the designated spot on the river bank promptly at the hour suggested. The canoe was there, and the man in it with paddle uplifted. He was a big, brawny fellow, with long arms bare and muscled like those of Hercules. It was fortunate he chanced to be such a man. The point of land selected by him, from which we were to start on our adventurous voyage, was over a mile above a Yankee trading boat lashed to the bank on the other side. It was the purpose of the man to land his canoe just above the prow of the trading boat, as a road was there skirting the swamp and running off into the open country. Many anxious glances were cast by him up and down the river, which was here straight for several miles each way, when, kneeling down in the forward end of the canoe—the usual place and posture of a canoeman, at least when car-

**Idem*, p. 998.

rying over a horse—he, by a long and deliberate stroke of the paddle, drew the light boat slowly from the bank. I was seated, of course, in the stern. My horse, from which I had not removed the saddle, following the pull of the bridle-reins, which I held in my left hand, took to the water readily, and, with my right hand under his lower jaw to support his head, or rather his mouth and nostrils above the stream, began to swim by my side without a struggle. Under the long, steady, and vigorous strokes of the athletic boatman, we soon reached the middle of the broad river—still well up above the trading boat, though we had drifted considerably below our starting point. The horse sometime before had concluded to rest, and had therefore turned on his side, and was floating instead of swimming. This action of the animal had put double work on the paddler; but he did it well, and it was soon evident, that he would be able, despite the increased strain on his muscles, to make the contemplated landing. When we were perhaps less than a quarter of a mile from the Louisiana bank, a gun-boat rounded a wooded point on the river five or six miles above; and judging from the thick smoke, which was soon boiling out of her chimneys, and hanging above her like an ominous cloud, was doing her best toward an acceleration of speed. Then came the tug of war. The canoeman met the heavy demand upon his strength bravely. His strokes were not only long, but rapid; and his paddle swept through the water with dash and vigor. His posture at the head of the canoe was eminently suggestive. It seemed fit that he should pray, and make his prayers keep time to the rapid sweeps of his paddle. As for myself I was hardly in a praying mood: I was too busy anathematizing my horse for not helping us out by swimming. The boat fired one shot from its bow-gun; but it fell short, plunging into the river more than a hundred yards above. Before another shot was fired, the canoe was directly between the pursuing vessel and the trading boat at the bank. No firing from the former could then be done without probable damage to the latter and its occupants who, although Northern men and women, were in a state of the wildest excitement, running about the deck of the little steamer, frantically waving their handkerchiefs and shouting words of encouragement to us, and, in short, manifesting a decidedly

boisterous anxiety for us to escape. The sturdy canoeman made the bank under the bow of the trading boat a few hundred yards ahead of the gun-boat. By the help of one of the hands of the former, he had the canoe out of the water and over the levee almost as soon as it touched the shore. I was not less alert in my movements. Not a moment was lost in mounting my horse; and, astride of a wet saddle, I was soon listening to his rapid and rhythmic hoof-beats—making for me delicious music, as they announced a fast increase of the distance between the rider and the river.

I arrived in the Indian country, after making a short and hurried stay at Shreveport for consultation with General Smith, about the middle of July. There was much difficulty in getting through the parts of the Territory held by the Confederate army, because of the unusually inclement weather, and the wretched condition of the roads. I met the Treasurers of the Creeks, Seminoles and Chickasaws at Fort Washita, August 8, and paid them their annuities.* I also met, in council at the same time and place, many of the leading men of these nations, and promised to have them furnished with much needed supplies, which promise was redeemed to the best of my ability. The Choctaw and Cherokee treasurers were subsequently met at Fort Towson, and were duly paid.

The Confederate Indian outlook was far from being a bright one. The greater portion of the Territory was in the hands of the enemy, and the southern part of the Choctaw, with a large part of the Chickasaw country, in the neighborhood of Red river, where grain could be most easily reached, and pasturage was good, appeared crowded with refugee families from all the Confederate nations save the last. The best arrangement possible was made for supplying their most pressing needs.† The Indians, had, by no means, lost hope, and displayed eminent loyalty to the cause of the Confederacy. This of course, was known to be true, and was expected of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and the remnant of the Cherokees, who had followed the fortunes of the brave and high-spirited Standwatie; but even the Creeks and Seminoles, about whose

**Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. xli, Part ii, p. 1078.

†*Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. xli, Part ii, p. 1079, and Series I, Vol. xli, Part iv, p. 1086.

faithfulness some doubts had been entertained, were hardly behind the others in devotion to the Southern cause. On the 8th or 9th of August, I met all the principal men of these two nations, and many of their warriors in council at Fort Washita; and no men could have spoken more unselfishly and patriotically, and, as it seemed to me, with greater sincerity, than did both of their principal chiefs. I was so profoundly impressed with their words, that I took them back with me to Richmond, for the consideration of the President and Secretary of War.*

*Samuel Chekote, Chief of the Creeks, among other things, in his address to the Commissioner, said: "In reply to your encouraging remarks today I must say it affords me more than ordinary pleasure to have an opportunity of seeing you, hearing you talk, and speaking to you face to face. I feel encouraged by your presence, esteeming your long and perilous journey to the Indian country to be prompted by no other motives than the welfare of the Indian people. And the assurances you have given us today, as on former occasions, of the good feelings and faith of the President and Government towards us, is an additional source of great encouragement. These manifest tokens of friendship, I assure you in behalf of the Creek people, are duly appreciated, and shall ever esteem it our high prerogative to cherish such feelings."

After alluding briefly to the sufferings of his people during the last year, because of their having been driven from their homes, he continued: "These misfortunes and calamities I deem necessary incidents in the path of war. I am assured that many of my white brethren are suffering likewise. I, therefore, make no complaint, but assure you in behalf of my people, that the cause of the South is our cause, her hopes are our hopes, and whatever her misfortunes may be it shall be our pleasure to bear them patiently with her even unto death. If she falls we fall, and if she prospers, we only desire it to be our privilege to enjoy her prosperity. Being thus actuated we are enrolling every able-bodied man in the service for the war. Although many of those already enlisted are without arms we shall persevere with the hope of getting them hereafter. I take this occasion to express my approbation of the officers over us in this department. I believe them to be men of patriotic and generous principles, willing to sacrifice personal ease and sectional feelings for the welfare of the Indians and our common cause. Our numerous wants are, in a measure, being supplied. We believe that all is being done that can be done conveniently. We can see and appreciate the exigency of the times, and are willing to endure all that cannot be remedied."

Hemha Micco or John Jumper, Chief of the Seminoles, thus wrote the Commissioner: "In the fall of 1862 I first met you at Fort Arbuckle. You asked me if I had any requests to make the President of the Confederate States. I told you I had none. We were then by our firesides, living in comparative quiet; but war came to our country, and drove us from these pleasant homes; we are now wanderers and strangers, yet the Confederate States have not deserted us; we have been provided for; our women and children are fed; our soldiers get all they should expect; the government is engaged in a great war; she cannot do any more for us now than she is doing. Perhaps when the war is over we will be perfectly satisfied with her bounty; all claims will be adjusted. In view of all these things, I again say to you, that I have no request to make of the

I spent some time at General Maxey's headquarters. He was exerting himself heroically to discharge all the complex duties of his position. Like a skillful soldier, he was ever striving to add to the limited means at his disposal, and, if unsuccessful, to make them supply the place of instrumentalities ampler and more satisfactory. He had to face not only the troubles arising from a want of supplies, etc., but those growing out of opposition to his holding the Indian command—the sort of opposition that impaired the usefulness of General Steele and finally led him to ask relief from duty in the Indian country. General Smith, in special orders, 214, December 11, 1863,* said emphatically and deservedly: "In relieving General Steele the Lieutenant-General commanding deems it a proper occasion to express his satisfaction with the manner in which that officer has conducted the affairs of the Indian Territory amid all the embarrassments that surrounded him; and, in assigning him to other duty, does so with unabated confidence in his ability and patriotism."

The opposition that discouraged Steele had a contrary effect upon Maxey. The latter defied it. At last, however, it was transferred to Richmond; and he was thereupon removed, by special orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's office, No. 171, and dated July 28, 1864. General Smith showed how greatly he regretted this removal by delaying the publication of the order, and asking the War Department to revoke it—at the same time referring the department to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for information as to General Maxey's "civil administration of his district."† The opposi-

President. He will, without asking, do all for us that we should expect. I wish you, however, to assure the President that the Seminoles are yet true and loyal. Their treaty stipulations are sacred. The destiny of your Government shall be ours; if she falls we will go with her; if she triumphs no rejoicing will be more sincere than ours. Permit me to express to you the gratification we feel because of your visit. We thank you for the very friendly and satisfactory address of this morning. We feel strengthened and encouraged. We will remember your words when you are far away; we will profit by them. We wish you to visit us often; we think you are a good friend to us; we have confidence in you. May you have a pleasant and safe return to Richmond, and may you come again shortly to our wild Western land. May the blessing of Almighty God rest upon you and our common cause."—*Official War Records*, Series I, Vol. xli, Part iv, pp. 1089-90.

**Official War Record*, Series I, Vol. xxii, Part ii, p. 1094.

†*Official War Record*, Series I, Vol. xli, Part iii, p. 971.

tion, however, was too strong, and the revoking order requested by General Smith was not granted.*

General Maxey was a bright and bold man; of splendid administrative capacity; rare will-power, and great energy. He was peculiarly well equipped for the Indian command. His successor, General D. H. Cooper, was also a good man for the position. He was popular with the Indians; had lived among them for many years; understood their ways and character; and both as Colonel and Brigadier-General of Indian troops, had managed them well, and had fought them on more than one occasion against the enemy with marked ability and success.

I had done, during this visit, towards furthering the wishes and intentions of the government in behalf of the Indians, all that seemed to be possible.† So I now turned my back reluctantly and sadly upon the little Territory that had stood so gallantly by, and suffered so resolutely with, the Confederacy, and set out on my painful journey to Richmond about the middle of October, 1864. It was near the last of November before I reached the city. That was my last visit to the Trans-Mississippi department. The sorrowful march of events toward the ending of the Confederacy was so heavy and rapid, as to render another visit unnecessary, not to say impossible.

*Idem, 971.

†*Official War Record*, Series I, Vol. xli, Part iv. p. 1088.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also outlines the methodology used in the study and the results obtained. The second part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the conclusions drawn from the research. The third part of the paper discusses the limitations of the study and the areas for future research.

The study was conducted in a laboratory setting and the results were compared with those obtained in previous studies. The study found that the results were consistent with those obtained in previous studies. The study also found that the results were consistent with those obtained in previous studies. The study also found that the results were consistent with those obtained in previous studies.

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THE KU KLUX TESTIMONY RELATING TO ALABAMA.

BY WALTER L. FLEMING, West Virginia University.

In 1869-70 the Radical leaders began to observe signs in the Southern States that indicated the growing strength of the Democratic party. The Fifteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution by the forced ratifications of Virginia, Texas, Mississippi and Georgia. President Grant sent in a message to Congress announcing the ratification as "the most important event that has occurred since the nation came into life." Congress responded to the hint in the message by passing the first of the Enforcement Acts. For two years this measure had been impending, and the excuse now for making it a law was that the Ku Klux organizations would prevent the blacks from voting in the fall of 1870. This act was approved on May 31, 1870; a supplementary Enforcement Act was passed on February 28, 1871; and on April 20, 1871, the last of the series, the notorious "Ku Klux" Act, was passed into law.*

The effect of these Enforcement Acts was to take over to the Central Government all the powers of the State governments relating to suffrage and elections.†

The acts were said to be for the purpose of enforcing the XIVth and XVth Amendments.

The laws were ostensibly but not really aimed at the Ku Klux movement. The Ku Klux organizations had disbanded before 1870. The South was more peaceful than it had been in 1868 and 1869, but was more Democratic. The real purpose was to prevent the newly reconstructed Southern States from being carried by the Democrats in the elections of 1870 and 1872. It was especially important that those States be held in the Republican ranks until after the presidential election in 1872. To justify this "Force" legislation, and to ob-

* Text of the Acts in McPherson, *Reconstruction*, 546-550; McPherson, *Hand-book of Politics* (1872), 3-8, 85-87.

† See Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*, 257, 258, for discussion of the Force laws.

tain material for use in the next year's campaign, Congress appointed a committee to investigate the condition of affairs in the Southern States. This committee was organized on April 20, 1871, the date of the approval of the Ku Klux Act.*

The members of the sub-committee that took testimony in Alabama were: Senators Pratt and Rice, and Messrs. Blair, Beck and Buckley, of the House. Blair and Beck, the Democratic members, were never present together. So the sub-committee consisted of three Republicans and one Democrat. C. W. Buckley was a carpet-bag Representative from Alabama, a former Bureau reverend, who worked hard to convict the white people of the State.

The sub-committee held sessions in Huntsville, October 6-14; Montgomery, October 17-20; Demopolis, October 23-28; Livingston, October 30 to November 3; and in Columbus, Miss., for West Alabama, November 11. All these places were in Black counties. Sessions were held only at easily accessible places, and where scalawag, carpet-bag and negro witnesses could easily be secured. Testimony was also taken by the committee in Washington from June to August, 1871.

It is generally believed that the examination of witnesses by the Ku Klux Committee of Congress was a very one-sided affair, and that the testimony is practically without value for the historian, on account of the immense proportion of hearsay reports and manufactured tales embraced in it. Of course there is much that is worthless because untrue, and much that may be true but cannot be regarded because of the character of the witnesses whose statements are unsupported. But, nevertheless, the 2,008 pages of testimony taken in Alabama are a mine of information concerning the social, religious, educational, political, legal, administrative, agricultural and financial conditions in Alabama from 1865 to 1871. The report itself, of 632 pages, contains much that is not in the testimony, especially as regards railroad and cotton frauds, taxation and the public debt, and much of this information can be secured nowhere else.

The minority members of the sub-committee which took testimony in Alabama, General Frank P. Blair and later Mr.

*See *Report of the Committee*, 1, 2, which is Senate *Report* No. 41, Part 1, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., or House *Report* No. 22, Part 1, 42d Cong., 2d Sess.

Beck, of New York, had summoned before the committee at Washington, and before the sub-committee in Alabama, the most prominent men of the State—men who, on account of their positions, were intimately acquainted with the condition of affairs in the State. General Blair took care that the examination covered everything that had occurred since the war. The Republican members often protested against the evidence that Blair proposed to introduce, and ruled it out. He took exceptions, and sometimes the committee at Washington admitted it; sometimes he smuggled it in any way, by means of cross questioning, or else he incorporated it into the minority report. On the other hand, the Republican members of the sub-committee seem to have felt that the object of the investigation was only to get a lot of campaign stories for the use of the Radical party in the coming elections. They summoned a sorry class of witnesses, a large proportion of whom were ignorant negroes who could only tell what they had heard or had feared. The best of the Radicals were not summoned unless by the Democrats. In several instances the Democrats caused to be summoned the prominent scalawags and carpet-baggers, who usually gave testimony damaging to the Radical cause.

An examination of the testimony shows that sixty-four Democrats and Conservatives were called before the committee and sub-committee. Of these, fifty-seven were Southern men, five were Northern men residing in the State, and two were negroes. The Democrats testified at great length, often twenty to fifty pages. Blair and Beck tried to bring out everything concerning the character of carpet-bag rule.*

Thirty-four scalawags, fifteen carpet-baggers and forty-one negro Radicals came before the committee and sub-committee. Some of these were summoned by Blair or Beck, and a number of them disappointed the Republican members of

*Some of the Conservatives who testified were: General Cullen A. Battle, R. H. Abercrombie, General James H. Clanton, P. M. Dox, Governor Robert B. Lindsay, Reuben Chapman, Thomas Cobbs, Daniel Coleman, Jefferson M. Falkner, William H. Forney, William M. Lowe, William Richardson, Francis S. Lyon, William S. Mudd, General Edmund W. Pettus, Turner Reavis, James L. Pugh, P. T. Sayre, R. W. Walker—all prominent men of the highest character.

the committee by giving good Democratic testimony.* The Radicals could only repeat, with variations, the story of the Eutaw riot, the Patona affair, the Huntsville parade, etc. Of the prominent carpet-baggers and scalawags whose testimony was anti-Democratic, most were men of unsavory character.†

The testimony of the higher Federal officials was mostly in favor of the Democratic contention.‡

The negro testimony, however worthless it may appear at first sight, becomes as clear as day to one who, knowing the negro mind, remembers the influences then operating upon it. From this class of testimony one gets valuable hints and suggestions. The character of the white scalawag and carpet-bag testimony is more complex, but if one has the history of the witness, the testimony usually becomes clear. In many instances the testimony gives a short history of the witness.

The material collected by the Ku Klux Committee and other committees that investigated affairs in the South after the war, can be used with profit only by one who will go to the biographical books and learn the social and political history of each person who testified. When the personal history of the important witness is known, many things become plain. Unless this is known, one cannot safely accept or reject any specific testimony. To one who works in Alabama reconstruction, Brewer's *Alabama*, Garrett's *Reminiscences*, the *Memorial Record*, old newspaper files and the memories of old citizens are indispensable.

There is in the first volume of the Alabama Testimony a delightfully partisan index of seventy-five pages. In it the summary of Democratic testimony shows up almost as Radical as the worst on the other side. It is meant only to bring out the violence in the testimony. According to it, one would

* Some of those who gave, willingly or unwillingly, Democratic testimony: W. T. Blackford (s.), Judge Busted (c.), General Cranford, Nich. Davis (s.), L. W. Day (c.), Samuel A. Hale (c.), (brother of John P. Hale, of New Hampshire), J. H. Speed (s.), United States Senator Willard Warner (c.), N. L. Whitfield (s).

(c.)—Carpet-bagger. (s.)—Scalawag.

† Charles Hays (s.), W. B. Jones (s.), S. F. Rice (s.), John A. Minnis (s.), Parson Lakin (s.), B. W. Norris (s.), L. E. Parsons (s.), E. W. Peck (s.), and L. R. Smith (c.). The three last were the most respectable of the lot, but were disappointed politicians.

‡ Day, Busted, VanValkenburg, General Cranford, etc.

think all those killed or mistreated were Radicals. The same man frequently figures in three situations, as shot, outraged and killed. General Clanton's testimony of thirty pages gets a summary of four inches, which tells nothing; that of Wager, a Bureau agent, gets as much as twelve pages, which tell something; and that of Minnis, a scalawag, twice as much.

There is very little to be found in the testimony that relates directly to the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations. Had the sessions of the sub-committee been held in the white counties of North and Southwest Alabama, where the Klans had flourished, probably they might have found out something about the organization. But the minority members were determined to expose the actual condition of affairs in the State from 1865 to 1871. No matter how much the Radicals might discover concerning unlawful organizations, the Democrats stood ready with an immense deal of facts concerning Radical misgovernment to show cause why such organizations should arise. Consequently the three volumes of testimony relating to Alabama are by no means pro-Radical except in the attitude of the majority of the examiners.*

Below is given a table of alleged Ku Klux outrages, compiled from the testimony taken. The Ku Klux report classifies all violence under the four heads: Killing, Shooting, Outrage, Whipping. The same case frequently figures in two or more classes. Practically every case of violence, whether political or not, is brought into the testimony. The period covered is from 1865 to 1871. Radical outrages as well as Democratic are listed in the report as Ku Klux outrages. In a number of cases Radical outrages are made to appear as Democratic. Many of the cases are simply hearsay. It is not likely that many instances of outrage escaped notice; for every case of actual outrage was proven by many witnesses. Every violent death of man, woman or child, white or black, Democratic or Radical, occurring between 1865 and 1871 appears in the list as a Ku Klux outrage. Evidently careful search had been made, and the witnesses had informed themselves about every actual deed of violence. There were sixty.

* Senate Report, No. 48, Parts 8, 9 and 10, or House Report, No. 22, Parts 8, 9 and 10, contains the Alabama Testimony.

four counties in the state and in only twenty-nine of them were there alleged instances of Ku Klux outrage:

TABLE OF ALLEGED OUTRAGES COMPILED FROM THE KU KLUX TESTIMONY.

COUNTY.	Killings.	Outrages.	Shootings.	Whippings.	Total.	COUNTIES.	Killings.	Outrages.	Shootings.	Whippings.	Total.
Autauga	1				1	Linestone, k	7	1		1	9
Blount, k	2	3		6	11	Macon, x	1	4	1	1	7
Calhoun	6	1	1	1	9	Madison, x	6	19	5	19	49
Chambers, k	1		1		2	Marshall, k	1		1	1	3
Cherokee, k		2		1	3	Marengo, x	1	6			4
Choctaw, x	11	1	3		15	Montgomery, x		1			1
Coosa			1	12	13	Morgan, k	4	2	1	3	10
Colbert, k	1	1		1	3	Perry, x	2		2	2	6
Dallas, x	1	1			2	Pickens, x					9
Fayette, k	1			3	4	Sumter, x	21	4	9	4	38
Greene, x	11	4	1	3	19	St. Clair	1	1	1		3
Hale, x	1	3	2	1	7	Tallapoosa, k					1
Jackson	4	2	2	2	10	Tuscaloosa, k	8				8
Lauderdale				1	1	Walker, k				1	1
Lawrence, k	2				2						

X—Black Counties and K—White Counties where Ku Klux Klans operated.

HISTORICAL NOTES OF MILLEDGEVILLE, GA.

BY ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, PH. D., Instructor in History in the
University of Wisconsin.

Milledgeville was a fairly typical unprogressive village in Middle Georgia; a town in the midst of a region where town life was overshadowed by the prominence of the plantation system. The merchants and the innkeepers and perchance the lawyers, twirled their thumbs or whittled soft pine throughout the spring and summer, until with the arrival of autumn the neighboring planters began to drop in and market their cotton, and the politicians began to arrive from all directions to spend a month or two and make the laws of the land.

Milledgeville owed its existence to a State enactment of 1803, which ordered its survey as a town and gave it its cumbersome name, when its site was still a wilderness but recently surrendered by the Indians. It owed such commercial importance as it came to have to its location at the head of navigation upon the Oconee river. It was a collecting point for cotton bound for the sea, and a distributing point for manufactures from Europe and the North. But the Savannah and the Ocmulgee were greater streams, with better navigation, and the merchants of Augusta and later of Macon* were more enterprising. The commerce of Milledgeville, when once developed, remained purely local and almost stationary.

The town owed its political importance to an act of the Legislature in 1804, which selected it as the seat of the State government before a dozen cabins had been built within its limits. But in 1868 the capital was removed to Atlanta, and Milledgeville lost its political prop. The building of railroads, which put an end to the river traffic, had already destroyed the commercial advantage which its location on the river bank had secured in the early period. The town accordingly stagnated through Reconstruction and the following decades. Within very recent years Milledgeville has unexpectedly

* Macon was founded in 1822, forty miles west of Milledgeville, and quickly asserted a successful claim to a share of the commerce of the intervening territory.

taken a firm hold upon itself and has done surprising things—surprising, at least, for Milledgeville.

Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, in 1793, moulded the subsequent history of Middle Georgia. The early settlers had lived as small farmers, raising corn and wheat and a little tobacco. But from 1800 the production of cotton grew so rapidly in importance that within a decade it overshadowed all other forms of industry. The tide of immigration was changed in character. Virginia and North Carolina planters left their tobacco lands for the more inviting cotton belt. They brought their slaves with them, and slave traders brought still others from the older States and the sea coast and sold them in the cotton region. By 1810 the number of blacks in the vicinity of Milledgeville was about equal to that of the whites. As late as 1821 the Indian country was only a day's march to the west. Society in this region near the frontier was in the main primitive and rough; but a sprinkling of great planters gave here and there some atmosphere of distinction and culture.

Except for the great export staple there would have been little use for merchants or towns. But cotton had to be marketed, and Milledgeville was one of the centers. From the treaty of peace with England in 1815 to the great panic of 1837 there were flush times in the cotton belt. Planters and farmers and slaves fared well, and commercial towns grew with some rapidity; but the plantation advantages attracted the chief attention. Merchants and lawyers were fond of investing their earnings in lands and slaves; for the profits in cotton were heavy, and, moreover, it was deemed more honorable to be a planter than to follow any other calling. The towns could barely hold their own against the attractions of the country. Some of the townsmen who turned planters continued to live in town; but the ideal site for a home was thought to be in the midst of a grove upon the crest of a hill an hour or two's drive outside the town.

The town, however, was on Saturdays and court days and throughout the autumn the scene of much activity. Its streets and shops and court house were places for the dissemination of news and the forming of public opinion. The interaction between town and country sentiment and institutions

was very close. And any insight into town conditions is to be valued as giving a glimpse of the life of the old South, now so difficult for the student to reconstruct with faithfulness.

Milledgeville was incorporated by a legislative act of 1810. The town records, to be found in the town clerk's office in a state of neglect, extend from 1816, with a few breaks, to the present. They afford an excellent view of the range of the official action of the town authorities, and here and there they throw unexpected light upon the customs and circumstances of the people. Among these records the town census of 1828 is a treasure, for it not only gives the number of inhabitants but also indicates the occupations of the people, and shows the number of slaves held by each family.

The total population in 1828 is given at 1,599. Total whites, 831, of which 197 were males below 18 years of age; 288 were males above 18 years, and 346 were females. Of male slaves under 18 years old there were 176; above 18 years, 159; total male slaves, 335; female slaves, 413; total slaves, 748; free persons of color, 20; of which 8 were males and 12 females.

Of 167 white families, 41 had no slaves; 12 had 1 each, 17 had 2 each, 25 had 3 each, 9 had 4 each, 13 had 5 each, 10 had 6 each, 11 had 7 each, 6 had 8 each, 5 had 9 each, 6 had 10 each, 3 had 11 each, 2 had 12 each, 2 had 13 each, 1 had 14, 1 had 15, 1 had 17, 1 had 18, 1 had 19, 1 had 21.

Among the whites, 12 were attorneys, 6 physicians, 21 merchants, 16 shopkeepers, 9 innkeepers, 21 printers, 26 house carpenters, 2 joiners, 5 blacksmiths, 6 boot and shoe makers, 4 silversmiths and 8 tailors.

The fact that the town was the State capital accounts for the large number of innkeepers and printers. The white households of the innkeepers were large, and they were, as a class, the largest slaveholders in the town. They had slaveholdings of 5, 5, 6, 12, 12, 14, 17, 19 and 21, respectively. The printers, a few merchants and several attorneys also had relatively large numbers of slaves. But, of course, the great mass of the slaves was upon the plantations and beyond the reach of this census taker's inquiries. Eighty per cent. of the white families in the town had slaves for domestic service. John Marlow is listed with 3 white men and 7 slaves, all of

whom were carpenters. James Camak had 6 slaves, among whom one or two are apparently listed as printers. William Y. Hansell had 10 slaves, among whom one was a carpenter, one a blacksmith and one a cobbler. All free negroes are listed under the names of their white guardians. Their occupations are not stated.

The census taker, who was also the town marshal, possessed an inquisitive turn of mind. Though it was not set down in his instructions, he made jottings of fifteen prostitutes, all of whom appear to have been white women. Of course there was, in addition, a considerable number of occasional prostitutes among the negroes and mulattoes; but the police regulations over the slaves were too strict to permit any of them to be openly professionals. The large number of the women of the town was due to the residence of the host of legislators and other politicians in the town during the annual sessions of the General Assembly.

The minutes of the corporation of Milledgeville extend through nearly the whole lifetime of the town. They contain a record of the enactment and the enforcement of town ordinances, and the conduct of the town's finances and general administration. Here and there they give glimpses of the course of public opinion. The following notes are illustrative:

Item, July 30, 1822. An ordinance. (1.) No slave may live off the lot inhabited by his owner or employer. (2.) No slave may hire his own time from his master or contract to labor for any other person. (3.) No person of color may keep spirituous liquors for sale, and none may keep any horse, cow or hog for his own use. (4.) No free person of color may live in Milledgeville except with a guardian living in the town and a certificate of character and a bond for good behavior. Not exceeding four washerwomen at one time shall be exempt from the provisions of this ordinance, and they only when specially licensed.

Item, August 22, 1822. An ordinance. Articles (1) and (2) of the above ordinance of July 30 are suspended until December 15 in the case of slaves provided with certificates of character and covered by bonds for good behavior.

Item, February 1, 1823. An ordinance for a patrol. Ordered that the marshal divide the whole list of citizens subject to patrol duty into thirty squads, and that each squad do patrol duty for one night in each month. Exemption from patrol duty may be purchased at \$6 per year.

Item, March 22, 1823. Fines of \$1 each are imposed upon fifteen citizens for failure to perform patrol duty.

Item, January 7, 1824. Treasurer's report. Amount received in 1823 in fines for failure to do patrol duty, \$40.50.

Item, January 12, 1824. An ordinance repealing the above ordinance of February 1, 1823.

Item, January 31, 1831. An ordinance providing a new system of patrol. Ordered that the marshal and three sergeants with salaries of \$100 a year shall command the patrol in succession. Five citizens are to serve each night. The patrol is to continue from 9 p. m. to 3 a. m. Persons failing to patrol or furnish substitutes are subject to fine from \$1 to \$5.

Item, February 2, 1825. An ordinance for organizing a town guard to replace the former patrol system. Citizens are permitted to volunteer and receive payment for services. The duty of the guard is to apprehend every slave between ten and sixty years of age found off his master's premises without a pass after the ringing of the market bell at night. Slaves apprehended are to be kept in the guard house till morning, and their owners notified. Each slave is to be released after twenty-five lashes on the bare back and the payment of \$1 by the owner.

Item, June 14, 1825. An ordinance amending the above ordinance by exempting slaves from whipping for the first offense.

Item, April 22, 1831. Ordered that the Secretary serve a citation on Edward Cary and that the Marshal be directed to bring before this board a negro slave named Nathan belonging to the said Cary, on Monday next, to answer the charge of assault and battery, on one of the patrol of the town and show cause why punishment should not be inflicted.

Item, April 24, 1831. In response to the above citation, Edward Cary appeared without the negro. He alleged that Richard Mayhorn had violated the ordinance of the town by

transcending his authority as a Patrol. The evidence of witnesses was introduced to substantiate Cary's statement. The Board ordered that Richard Mayhorn be discharged from the service of the corporation.

Item, July 13, 1831. A patrol reported riotous conduct on the part of a negro named Hubbard, and charged Hubbard with cursing, assaulting and bruising Billy Woodliff, (a slave of Seaborn Jones ?) at the door of Billy's shop. Billy Woodliff, being sworn, related how Hubbard abused and bruised him with a rock. Robert Mercer and Mr. Winter also testified. The fact was brought to light that Hubbard's attack upon Billy had been brought about by Billy having taken Hubbard's wife away from him. "The testimony being concluded, Mr. Wiggins addressed the Board in a speech containing some *lengthy*, *strengthy* and *depthy* argument. Whereupon the Board *Ordered* that the negro man Hubbard receive from the Marshal *Ten* lashes moderately laid on, and be discharged."

Item, February 12, 1830. Whereas, the Board has received information that Elijah H. Burritt has violated the statute of the last Georgia legislature by the introduction of certain insurrectionary pamphlets, resolved that the town marshall be directed to enter his name as prosecutor in the case, and that this Board will pay all expenses necessary to bring the offender to punishment.

Item, September 13, 1831. Ordered that the marshall and deputies use increased vigilance with regard to our black population, and particularly that they do not fail to visit every place at which there is an assembly of negroes, and in the event of religious meetings to treat them as the law directs for unlawful meetings, unless there is present at least one white person accepted by the church to which the society belongs.

The rise of the abolition agitation in the North in 1829 and 1831, and the Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia, account, of course, for the policy of the Board as indicated in the two items last noted above.

Item, October 5, 1831. The negro man Nathan belonging to W. B. Hepburn, was brought before the board and examined relative to a suspected insurrection among the blacks.

Wheretupon, after due consideration of all the circumstances, it was ordered that, as nothing criminal has been proved against him, he be immediately discharged. The yellow man Richard Rogers, a Preacher, was examined and likewise discharged. So also Aleck Reynolds, the Blacksmith, and Casewell, a blacksmith belonging to Peyton Pitts. The Board ordered that, whereas, there has been considerable danger in the late excitement and alarm of an intention at insurrection, by firing guns "by persons carrying arms that were intoxicated," and by boys unable to bear arms, it be ordained that the marshall and patrols take away arms from intoxicated persons and boys and enforce the ordinance against firing arms in the streets.

The examination of these negroes suspected of conspiracy in 1831 and the trials of Nathan and Hubbard, noted above under dates of April 22 and 24 and July 13, 1831, appear to be the only instances recorded of negroes having been tried by the Milledgeville authorities for crimes or misdemeanors prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Item, January 5, 1839. "On motion of Alderman Cook, Resolved, That the Marshal be and, he is hereby required to pay over to the Council immediately after the passage of this Resolution, all monies received by him for superintending the Balls given by the colored people during the Christmas holidays, and that he be instructed not to receive in future any compensation for such services."

Item, December 19, 1839. Resolved, That the Board deem it improper to grant negroes the privilege of having balls at any other time than during the Christmas holidays, and then in the day time, and that no consent shall be granted except upon the application of the owners or guardians of the negroes.

Item, January 21, 1841. Resolved, Upon petition, that the band of musicians composed of colored persons be allowed to practise in the old theatre not later than 10 o'clock, until further ordered by the board, provided they obtain the services of some suitable white person to accompany them.

Item, July 15, 1841. An ordinance. It shall be the duty of the marshal and deputy to report any white person disturbing the peace. (Elsewhere the marshal and deputy are directed

to patrol and prevent negro disturbances and to report and bring to trial all white persons breaking the peace. The repetition of this ordinance in July 1841 indicates that an element among the whites had become especially troublesome about that time.)

Item, September 18, 1854. The Board resolves that the petition before them asking the privilege for the negroes of the city of erecting a church for their separate use upon the lands of the city, cannot be entertained unless it be signed by a majority of the citizens of Milledgeville.

Item, January 10, 1840. The Board resolves to order the engraving of bills of the denominations of \$3, \$2, \$1, \$.50 and \$.25 to the total amount of \$14,440.

Item, April 2, 1840. The Change Bills have arrived from Washington to the amount of \$7,357.50. The cost of engraving is \$200.

Item, April 4, 1840. The Board resolves that these change bills be signed up and put into circulation as rapidly as possible, in exchange for bank notes. Ordered that no notes shall be issued unless a fund for their redemption is on hand equal to at least one-third of the amount proposed to be issued.

In this period of financial depression in the cotton belt, bills of credit were issued by numerous town corporations. In the *Southern Recorder*, January 16, 1842 (a newspaper printed at Milledgeville), a table of the rate of exchange is given. The notes of the Augusta City Council are quoted at par, while those of Columbus, Macon and Milledgeville are quoted at 15 per cent. discount. For Savannah scrip, 1840, see Thomas Gamble, Jr., *History of the City Government of Savannah, Ga., from 1790 to 1901*, pages 173-4.

Item, February 23, 1841. "The Street Committee reported that they had hired for the present year the following named hands, from the persons whose names are thereunto annexed, viz.:

Antoinette, of T. F. Greene, trustee.....	\$ 100 00
Isaac, of C. J. McDonald.....	150 00
Monday & Sam, of M. J. Kenan.....	250 00
Prince, Andrew & Prince, of Sarah Davis.....	375 00
Henry & Bill, of Emmon Bails.....	120 00
Andrew, of I. S. Wright.....	120 00
Joe, of James Smith.....	120 00
	<hr/>
	\$1,355 00

"Ordered that notes be executed by the Mayor to the owners of said hands for the several amounts above stated."

Item, January 2, 1840. Rations of negroes hired by the town of Milledgeville: Each week, one peck of meal, six pounds of bacon and one pint of molasses, in season.

Mention is made here and there, also, of potatoes, rice and beef, seemingly for the negro hands. Corn was worth about 50 cents per bushel, bacon 13 cents per pound. The town fed, clothed and sheltered the negroes it hired. One pair pantaloons cost \$3.00, one round jacket, \$3.00; one shirt, \$1.00; one pair shoes, \$1.25 to \$1.50. The support of the hands and four mules in 1840 cost \$897.93. [*Minutes, December 3, 1840.*]

The digest of taxes for 1859 gives a total of 335 taxpayers, of which eight were free negroes. One of these had property assessed at \$440, and two others at \$75 each. The remainder paid poll tax alone. The real estate was valued at \$317,000 and the slaves at \$318,600. Taxes were levied as follows: On white males between 18 and 45 years of age, a poll tax of \$2.00; on white males between 16 and 18 and between 45 and 60, a poll tax of \$1.00; on free male persons of color, between 16 and 60, a poll tax of \$1.00; on free female persons of color between 15 and 50, a poll tax of \$5.00; on slaves between 10 and 60 years of age, 40 cents for every \$100 of the returned valuation; on real estate and personal property, 40 cents on \$100; on merchandise, 50 cents on \$100; on money at interest, 30 cents on \$100; on peddlers, 10 per cent. of their sales; on liquor shops, \$50 each; on billiard tables, \$25 each; on bagatelle tables, \$20 each; on ten-pin alleys, \$25 each; on bakers, \$10 each; on forges, \$10 each; on printing offices, \$40 each; on bank agencies, \$100 each.

The cash book of the Town Treasurer has an entry under date of November 26, 1864:

"By amount on hand, captured by the Yankees, \$1,032.30.

Numerous entries show the depreciation of Confederate money; for instance, under date of March 3, 1863:

"By amount paid for 8 candles, \$8.00. By amount paid for pair of shoes, \$35.00.

The Record of the Police Court of Milledgeville, 1854 to 1870, contains the records of some 480 misdemeanor cases

tried in the mayor's court. Of these none appear to have been against slaves or free persons of color before 1862.

Item, February 15, 1862. "The State vs. Wm., a slave of Doct. G. D. Case. Disorderly & Disobedient Conduct. After hearing the testimony in the above case [it] is ordered and adjudged that Doct. G. D. Case pay the cost and that the boy William receive Ten Lashes by the hand of the Marshal, and then be discharged."

Item, December 8, 1862. The State vs. Hamilton, a slave. Retailing spirituous liquors. Pleaded guilty. Sentenced to thirty-nine lashes.

Item, May 14, 1864. The State vs. Viney, a slave. Using opprobrious and impudent language to a white person. Sentenced to thirty-nine lashes.

Item, July 26, 1865. "The State vs. Jarratt (Freedman)" Petit larceny. Sentences to ten days imprisonment in the guard house, to be fed on bread and water.

Item, August 17, 1865. "The State vs. Charles Harris (Freedman)." Malicious mischief. Sentenced to a fine of \$25 or in default to be kept in jail until the meeting of the superior court. The sentence was commuted to the wearing of ball and chain and working on the streets for fifteen days.

Item, August 28, 1865. The State vs. Anderson McComb, a freedman. Fighting. Sentenced to fine of \$5 or five days work on streets.

Item, August 28, 1865. Three cases of vagrancy against freedmen. Sentenced each to five days work on the streets.

Item, September 15, 1869. The State vs. Joseph Young, colored. Drunkenness. Sentenced to \$5 fine or six days in jail.

From 1865 to 1869 the court followed the custom of sentencing white persons to fine or imprisonment in jail, while it sentenced negroes to fine or labor in the chain gang on the streets. After 1869 that distinction apparently ceased to be made.

For a complete view of the life of the community, the town records must be supplemented with the county archives, the state documents, the newspaper files, travelers' accounts, and private correspondence.

The Ordinary's office in the court house at Milledgeville contains a valuable record on wills, inventories, appraisals

and sales of estates. From these we may gather that Jesse Sanford at his death in 1827 possessed 25 domestic servants besides 228 field hands distributed upon his six plantations, and that his personal property embraced mahogany furniture, silver plate and cut glass decanters. But we may learn on the other hand, that in dozens of cases a featherbed or two was inventoried as the most valuable item in the estate, aside from the lands, houses and slaves. For one great nabob there were scores or even hundreds of very plain farmers, shopkeepers and the like.

The state archives contain a record of the routine affairs which were attended to in the capitol and the executive mansion. The newspaper files, of which there are unusually good sets in Milledgeville, tell of the course of party politics, of the great speeches, the price of cotton, and the state of the crops. Their editorials and news items are supplemented by a great number of anonymous letters which give all sorts of views upon current questions. But as the years passed, there came to be one subject upon which unfavorable views were not printed. In the early period criticisms and expressions of disapproval of slavery were fairly common; but after the rise of the abolition agitation opinions of that sort were no longer published. This silence was eloquent—and sinister.

The purpose of this rambling article has been partly to give a glimpse of conditions as shown by the indisputable sources, but mainly to indicate that the materials exist for a complete political, social and economic history of any given community and of the South as a whole. The material can be discovered only by diligent search, and it can be wrought into history only by intelligent and persevering interpretative study. The difficulty of the work has heretofore prevented its accomplishment upon any large scale, but the rewards awaiting the patriotic historian who sets forth the clear and convincing truth about the South will be great enough to blot out the memory of his tedious labor.*

*There has just appeared from the press of McGowan & Cooke, of Chattanooga, a volume of *Memoirs of the Fort and Fannin Families*, edited by Kate Haynes Fort. This book contains an excellent biography of Dr. Tomlinson Fort, long a prominent citizen of Milledgeville, and gives a good account of family life in the community. As an accurate and attractive history of a typical well-to-do family, it is a valuable contribution to the social history of the South.

ALABAMA AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION BEFORE 1860.

BY WM. O. SCROGGS, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

The purpose of this article is to give a brief sketch of the filibustering movements directed against Texas, Cuba and Nicaragua, and to give some of the details of the part played by the State of Alabama in these undertakings.

TEXAS.

As long as Mexico remained a Spanish province, that immense tract of land which lies between the Sabine River and the Rio Grande, and which now forms the State of Texas, was but sparsely inhabited. Hardly had Mexico wrested her independence from Spain, however, before enterprising Americans began to cross the borders and settle in the Texan territory, which they found was blessed with most fertile soil and delightful climate. Within a few years the American population had reached its thousands, and Texas as regards its inhabitants was no longer to be looked upon as a Spanish-American country. The Americans managed their affairs very much as they pleased, maintaining slavery in spite of the Texan Constitution which forbade it.

In 1834, when Santa Anna overthrew the Mexican constitution, made himself a virtual dictator, and attempted to bring all the Mexican states into subjection, the Americans were not slow to offer resistance; and General Cos was dispatched to bring the unruly States to obedience. Thus began the revolution.

Although there were about twenty thousand Americans in Texas at this time, it is hardly probable that these, with the scanty resources at their command, would have rebelled without assurance of support from their brethren across the border. In the United States there was much sympathy manifested for the Texans—a sympathy that was greatest in the South but by no means confined to that section. New York, Kentucky, Ohio, all furnished men and money. The city of Cincinnati is said to have boasted that it furnished the cannon

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dollars per year. The "Red Rovers" were supplied with rifles at Shackelford's own expense.*

From the foregoing it will be observed that no fewer than one hundred and fifty Alabamians were under arms in Texas during the revolution. Of Shackelford and his "Red Rovers" we have a fairly full account. They left Courtland on December 12, 1835, and reached New Orleans on New Year's day. From New Orleans they set sail on the ship *Brutus* and landed at Matagorda January 19, where for two weeks they suffered great hardships, living on the game they were able to kill or capture, and part of the time subsisting on wolves. When the command reached Texana Shackelford sent word to the authorities of his company's arrival, stating that they had come at their own expense, and if their services were needed they would remain in the field as long as there was an enemy in the country. On the other hand, if there was no need of their services they would return as they had come, without imposing any expense on the Texans. The offer of the "Red Rovers" was eagerly accepted. On February 12, 1836, Shackelford was ordered to report to Fannin at Goliad, and reached this place ten days later.† All of the Alabama companies were under Fannin. It is stated that he did not have a dozen Texans in his ranks.‡

The details of the massacre of Goliad, March 27, 1836, are too well known to require any detailed account here. On March 19 Fannin's forces were surrounded on an open plain by a superior number of Mexicans under General Urrea, and after a brave defense, during which they sustained very heavy losses and exhausted their ammunition, they were compelled to surrender. The Mexicans marched them to Goliad and confined them there in the old church. When the news of Fannin's capture reached Santa Anna he at once despatched a courier to the commandant at Goliad with orders that the prisoners be immediately shot. The prisoners were divided into three detachments, and under various pretexts

*Kennedy: *Texas*, Vol. II., pp. 165-166.

†During his stay in Texana Shackelford was joined by Dr. Bernard, who has already been mentioned, and to whom we are indebted for much information concerning the "Red Rovers." Scarff's *Texas*, Vol. I., pp. 608-636.

‡Williams: *Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas*, p. 164.

were marched out some distance from the church. The men were entirely unaware of the purpose of their removal from the church until the Mexicans began to fire upon them. A number of those who escaped the first volley plunged into the river and reached the opposite bank unscathed. As far as is known, only seven of Shackelford's men escaped; namely: I. D. Hamilton, D. Cooper, L. M. Brooks, William Simpson, G. W. Brooks, W. H. Francis, and Joseph Fenner. The first five of these made their escape by swimming the river after the first volley was fired, and the last two named were detailed with the advance guard, which was not surrounded by the Mexicans, and consequently escaped capture.* A survivor estimates that in all not more than twenty-five or thirty escaped the massacre. Those who did escape made their way with great suffering to the Texan settlements on the Brazos.† As Captain Shackelford was a physician his life was spared that he might attend the Mexican wounded. A few weeks after the massacre he was sent to the Mexican hospital at Bexar, and there made his escape. After obtaining an honorable discharge from the Texan army, he made his way to his home in Alabama, and on arriving found that his friends, supposing that he had perished in the massacre, had conducted his funeral service with military honors.‡

More than a hundred Alabamians gave their lives to the cause of independent Texas. On the battlefield of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836, their death was fully avenged. It was then that the cry of "Remember the Alamo!" "Remember Goliad!" so thrilled the hearts and strengthened the arms of the Texans that the completeness of their victory won for them their independence.

CUBA.

In 1849, Narcisso Lopez, a veteran of the South American revolutions and sometime major-general in the Spanish army, became implicated in an insurrectionary movement in Cuba, and was compelled to flee from that island and take refuge in

*Captain Shackelford's own account. Scarff's *Texas*, Vol. I., p. 256. Saunders: *Early Settlers in Alabama*, p. 212.

†Duval: *Early Times in Texas*, p. 58.

‡Kennedy: *Texas*, Vol. II., p. 216. Saunders: *Early Settlers in Alabama*, pp. 211-212.

the United States. There was at that time in the United States a strong sentiment in favor of the annexation of Cuba, and Lopez was quick to avail himself of this to his own advantage. Cuba was compared to a ripe fruit ready to drop from the decadent Spanish tree into the lap of the young America. Lopez laid his plans before many prominent statesmen, among them being Senator Calhoun of South Carolina and Governor Quitman of Mississippi, both of whom gave full assurance of their interest and sympathy in the undertaking.* He dwelt at great length on the grievances of the Cubans. Natives, he declared, were debarred from holding office. Though slavery was prohibited by law the authorities accepted bribes from the slave traders and permitted the importation of negroes in great numbers, while by threats of emancipation the inhabitants were kept in a state of terror. Cuba was not represented in the Cortes, yet an arbitrary and burdensome system of taxation was imposed.† The citizens were only wanting an opportunity to rise and rid themselves of Spanish rule, and it was thought that the result of such a movement would be ultimate annexation to the United States. The same causes that had prompted Southern leaders to favor the annexation of Texas now urged them to exert every effort to secure Cuba. Texas had been gained for them, it is true; but the Mexican war had at the same time brought in the free state of California, and possibly Utah and New Mexico. The equilibrium of the Union was still insecure: more slave territory was necessary. Therefore when Lopez appeared with his plans for acquiring Cuba the pro-slavery leaders made his cause their own.

The first attempt upon Cuba was made in 1849 from the port of New York. It ended disastrously, the plans of Lopez having been frustrated by President Taylor. By spring of the next year Lopez had succeeded in raising a second company of soldiers of fortune, about one hundred strong, and on May 7th set sail from New Orleans on the steamer *Creole*. On the 19th a landing was made at Cardenas, but as the natives made no demonstrations in favor of the invaders, and Spanish troops

*Claiborne: *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, Vol. II., pp. 53-7.

†Claiborne: *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, Vol. II., pp. 53-54.

were in the vicinity, Lopez re-embarked and set out to hunt for a more favorable landing place. A short time after putting to sea the *Creole* was sighted and given chase by a Spanish warship, which drove the adventurers into the harbor of Key West. International courtesy demanded that Lopez be made to undergo at least the form of a trial for alleged breach of the neutrality laws, and proceedings were accordingly instituted against him in the Federal courts. After his acquittal Lopez returned to New Orleans and soon was ready for a third expedition. Among those who enlisted in this last enterprise were the following eight Alabamians, whose names have been saved for history: A. R. Weir, E. H. McDonald, R. L. Downman, Daniel DeWolf, Chas. A. Downner, W. L. Wilkisson, J. T. Pruitt and Cornelius Cook. The two last named were from Lowndes county. Downman had been a resident of Cahawba, Alabama, and after enlisting in the expedition, was made colonel of the first regiment. He lost his life in one of the first engagements with the Spaniards.*

While the *Pumpero* was steaming toward the Indies, the citizens of Montgomery had become intensely interested in the undertaking of Lopez, and called a mass meeting, the purpose of which was to take some action in regard to Cuba. Speeches were made at this meeting by Generals Taylor and Clanton, the reports of which show that there was a general belief that the whole island was on the verge of revolution and needing only an earnest of sympathy from abroad. It was thought that there was a whole army of patriots already in the field. How far wrong these ideas were we shall soon perceive. In the course of his speech General Clanton demonstrated his sympathy for the Cubans by offering his personal service in their aid, and at the conclusion of his remarks introduced the following resolutions: †

“Whereas, We have just reason to believe that the gallant patriots of Cuba are now struggling successfully to free themselves from an unjust and oppressive bondage, we think it due to them, as the bold champions of the inalienable rights of freemen, and to ourselves, as the happy recipients of the varied blessings of civil and religious liberty, to adopt this

*Alabama *Weekly Journal*, Sept. 3, 1851, Claiborne: *Quitman*, Vol. II., p. 84.

†Ibid, August 6, 1851.

method of expressing our cordial approbation of their revolutionary movements, and the fervent hope that a righteous Providence will crown their generous and manly efforts with complete success. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That, as worshippers at the shrine of liberty, it is our privilege to feel and declare publicly that sympathy which we hold to be due to the emotions of every patriot heart and to the achievements of every patriot hand; that we have read with pleasure the accounts of the past victories of the Cuban defenders, and contemplate with thrilling emotion the rational prospect of their future glory and triumphant vindication of their rights and independence.

"*Resolved*, That, should they continue to prove themselves worthy of the high boon for which they contend, we trust that, so soon as it may comport with the spirit of our national treaties and with our national honor, the government of the United States will acknowledge their independence."

Judge B. S. Bibb introduced the following additional resolution, which was accepted by the mover of the series before the meeting :

"*Resolved*, That a committee of twenty be appointed by the chairman to solicit subscriptions and to forward any means of aid to the Cubans that may be offered."

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and a committee of twenty of the foremost citizens of Montgomery—among whom we find the name of Hon. Wm. L. Yancey—was appointed under the last clause. An opportunity was now offered for those present to show their sympathy in a more substantial manner, and a number subscribed funds to the cause, and several young men put down their names as volunteers.*

Interest in the movement steadily increased; the twenty members of the committee made good progress with their work, and by the third week in August sixty volunteers from the city and vicinity had enlisted and were ready to depart for the Indies. James H. Clanton, who had displayed so much zeal and enthusiasm, was commander of the company. On arriving in New Orleans the latter part of the month, this company was united with several others already in the city to form a regiment, of which Clanton became lieutenant-colonel. R. B. Cook succeeded Clanton as captain of the Montgomery

*Alabama *Weekly Journal*, August 6 and September 3, 1851.

company. When the Montgomery company left home the members expected to sail for Cuba by the first of September, but on reaching New Orleans they had no means of going farther, and were compelled, along with the other companies in the city, to depend on the generosity of the citizens for their subsistence.* The following extracts from a letter written August 31 by a member of the Montgomery company, will give an insight into the state of affairs in New Orleans :

"We arrived all safe in this city and found hundreds, like ourselves, on their way to Cuba. All we want is means. We have men enough in this city to take Cuba in ten days, if we had the means of transportation. Our company has been very fortunate since our arrival here. Captain Clanton has been promoted lieutenant-colonel, and Lieutenant McGibbony has been appointed major of Col. Wheat's regiment. R. B. Cook will command our company.

"New Orleans has given until she has nothing to give. If the country would do as well as the city, we would soon have the means of leaving the States. There are over two thousand men in the city, almost without a dollar, all living at the expense of the citizens. I see no hope of leaving unless the country helps us.

"The Montgomery boys have been very quiet since their arrival here, though other companies have had some quarrels."*

Tidings soon came from Cuba that Lopez and all his followers had been captured, and a number, including the principal officers, had been shot without trial. Such news was so disconcerting to the expansionists that they gave up all plans for an immediate invasion of the island.

It now remains for us to trace the fate of the Alabamians under Lopez. On August 12, 1851, the *Pampero* came to anchor off the shore about fifty miles from Havana. The point at which the landing was made was separated from the small insurgent army by more than half the length of the island, and it is evident that if Lopez had any idea of co-operating with the only Cubans then in revolt he would certainly have chosen some other landing place. Few or no natives joined the invaders. A detachment of the command under William L. Crittenden became separated from the main body under Lopez, and never succeeded in rejoining it. Crit-

*Alabama *Weekly Journal*, September 3, 1851.

tenden's men fought their way to the coast and put to sea in open boats. They were soon overtaken and made prisoners by a Spanish war vessel, and the entire command, to the number of fifty, were taken to Havana and shot.* None of the Alabamians mentioned were with Crittenden.

Lopez advanced into the interior and was soon hemmed in by Spanish troops on every road. He was successful in a number of skirmishes, but was finally cut off from his supplies and his followers were scattered. At length, with a few faithful companions, he was forced into the mountains and was captured through the treachery of a guide. The rest of his command, about a hundred, were hunted down and made prisoners. Among the prisoners were the Alabamians already mentioned—with the exception of Colonel Downman, who was killed in battle. The entire party were taken to Havana and imprisoned. Strange as it may seem, the Spanish government, instead of repeating what had been done in the case of Crittenden and his followers, in this instance displayed marked leniency toward the prisoners. Upon Lopez alone was the penalty of death inflicted, the other prisoners being sent to Spain to serve a ten years' imprisonment. After seven months' incarceration, however, they were released by order of "Her Catholic Majesty."

While inmates of the Havana prison, two of the volunteers from Alabama sent letters home which were afterwards published in their home papers. Under the date of September 1, J. T. Pruitt wrote home as follows : †

"I fear ere this, the melancholy intelligence of my being a prisoner in Havana has reached you through the press . . . I was in New Orleans about the time the expedition was gotten up. Great excitement prevailed. Mr. Sigur, editor of the *Delta*, published numerous letters from the island, giving an account of the progress of a revolution going on in Cuba. These letters led me to believe that the entire population were under arms struggling for liberty. It is useless for me to tell you how false these letters were. Through persuasion of Colonel Downman I was induced to join the expedition. I have not time to go into details. Suffice it to say,

*Rhodes: *United States History*, Vol. I., p. 216. Claiborne: *Quitman* Vol. II., p. 90. Roche: *Story of the Filibusters*, p. 27.

†Letter was published first in the *Hayneville Watchman* and copied in the *Alabama Weekly Journal*, October 1, 1851.

we landed expecting to meet with thousands of friends. But, Alas! how deeply deceived! Instead of finding the people in arms fighting for freedom, we found one and all in arms ready to meet us, not as friends but as foes. We landed; had several engagements, in one of which I received a bayonet wound in the right arm, and were finally beaten and dispersed to the mountains, where, after suffering a great deal from hunger, we were compelled to give up.

"There are now 124 of us in prison here. We have been treated very kindly so far, and hope, when the Spanish government sees fully the base means used by General Lopez and his tools in New Orleans to get us to engage in the expedition, she will be disposed to look upon our crime with some degree of allowance, and spare our lives. If, however, such should not be the case, I shall submit to my fate in a manner becoming a man General Lopez is to be garroted to-day, and there are a few of his tools in New Orleans who had better never meet with those in prison here, or they will suffer equally as bad a fate."

At the same time Cornelius Cook, a friend of Pruitt's, also sent a letter to his home :*

HAVANA CITY PRISON,
September, 1851.

"My dear Father, Mother, and All:

"This will inform you that I am in a rather bad condition. On the second of August I was humbugged into an expedition for the liberation of Cuba, under the impression that the revolution had commenced and all the citizens were under arms. This has proven to be false. I doubt whether there are two hundred men on the island in favor of a revolution. At all events we were marching and fighting over the island for three weeks and were joined by only six patriots. Four days ago we surrendered under a proclamation that quarter would be given us. At present we are treated as well as could be expected. What our future will be I cannot form any idea, but it is hoped that we will get off with our lives. We may be imprisoned for life.

" Give my love to all my friends and tell the boys never to join an expedition against Cuba

Your Son,
CORNELIUS COOK.

After the death of Lopez no more filibustering occurred in Cuba until the outbreak of the revolution of 1868. Although a secret society, called the Order of the Lone Star,

*Copied in the *Alabama Weekly Journal* October 11, 1851, from the *Lowndes County Chronicle*.

organized for the purpose of annexing Cuba to the United States, had an existence in many of the seaboard states of the South for a number of years preceding the Confederate war, no further efforts of this kind toward acquiring possession of the island were made.

NICARAGUA.

The last invasion of Latin America with which we shall deal began in 1855, and was maintained with varying success until 1860. Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Honduras were the countries most directly effected, especially the first named of these republics. In May, 1855, William Walker, a Southerner by birth, but at that time a resident of California, set sail from San Francisco with fifty-six followers to take part in one of the periodic civil wars then waging in that country. He joined fortunes with the Democratic party, and in October of the same year brought hostilities to a temporary close by capturing the city of Granada, the stronghold of his enemies, the Legitimists. As soon as peace was established Walker was made commander-in-chief of the forces of the Republic, which organization he proceeded to reduce to a peace footing by gradually disbanding the native troops and retaining his American followers.* With the military power at his command and the new President, Don Patricio Rivas, practically his tool, Walker was master of the State. However, his policy soon caused defection among the natives, and the neighboring states, fearing that the fate of Nicaragua might soon be theirs also, formed a coalition for the purpose of expelling the invaders from Central America.† For two years Walker held his ground. During a part of this time he received constant reinforcements from the cities of New York, New Orleans and San Francisco, and with these might probably have maintained himself indefinitely if his quarrel with the Transit Company had not resulted in the withdrawal from service of the line of steamers on which his recruits were conveyed. This act of the Company was the direct cause of Walker's downfall; it became impossible for him to fill his ranks, which were being rapidly thinned by disease and desertion.

*Walker: *War in Nicaragua*, pp. 133-134.

†Bancroft: *History of Central America*, Vol. III., p. 350.

Walker was elected President of Nicaragua in June, 1856, and on September 22 issued a decree revoking the laws of the Federal Constituent Assembly and of the Federal Congress. His direct object in promulgating this act was to strengthen himself by re-establishing slavery in the country, and thus bringing to his side the aid of the Southern States.* He did not contemplate annexation to the United States, but was seeking to establish a union of the Central American republics and Mexico with himself at its head—a sort of military empire, with the institution of slavery as one of its main features.† The abolition of the anti-slavery laws was to the Southern leaders a signal that the noted filibuster was a champion of Southern institutions, and they stood by him loyally throughout his career.

After Walker had been saved from capture by the allied forces of the Central American States and had been permitted to withdraw through the intervention of Commander Davis, of the United States Navy, he returned to the States and made his headquarters in New Orleans, where he was soon busy equipping a second expedition. In November, 1857, he sailed from New Orleans with a band of volunteers, consisting largely of men from the Southern States. His clearance papers gave Mobile as the destination, but the real objective point was Nicaragua. On the 25 a landing was made at Punta Arenas, and two weeks later Commodore Paulding, of the American Navy, landed an armed force on Nicaraguan soil and compelled the invaders to go aboard a man-of-war and return to the United States. On his arrival in Washington Walker was released by order of President Buchanan. In the South there was great resentment felt toward Paulding, and indignation meetings were held in many of the cities.

From Washington Walker went to Mobile, and at all important points along the route was greeted as a conquering hero. On the 18th of January, 1858, he arrived in Montgomery and the State legislature tendered him the use of the hall of the House of Representatives that he might make an address on the Nicaraguan enterprise. That night the large hall was crowded, and

* *War in Nicaragua*, pp. 255-266.

† Doubleday: *Filibuster War in Nicaragua*, pp. 165-168.

the interest of the vast audience was intense. Walker spoke for an hour, giving a narration of the principal events in the history of his undertaking, and devoting himself more particularly to those recent occurrences which accounted for his presence in America at that time. He avowed his purpose of returning to Nicaragua; paid his compliments to Paulding and also to the administration for winking at this officer's unwarranted interference in the affairs of a foreign nation. A number of legislators made short addresses, and William L. Yancey also addressed the meeting, stating that he regarded the cause of Walker as the cause of the South. Resolutions censuring Paulding and expressing confidence in Walker's motives were read and adopted.* From Montgomery Walker proceeded to Mobile, where he was received with every possible attention. At a public meeting of the citizens it was resolved to employ counsel to bring charges against Paulding.† In Mobile Walker began without delay his preparations for returning to Nicaragua. To avoid possible legal complications it was deemed advisable to designate the men he enlisted as "emigrants"—not armed invaders, but a company of peaceful settlers. The Southern Emigration Society, the purpose of which was to "colonize" Nicaragua, was organized with branches throughout the South, chiefly in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina. Under the direction of this Society the following circular was scattered broadcast through the Southern States: ‡

"Mobile, Ala., Oct. 8, 1858.

"Sir—You are advised that on the 10th day of November next, a vessel will leave this port for San Juan del Norte. She will take any passengers that may offer for Nicaragua.

"If you, or any person in your neighborhood, desire to emigrate to Central America, please advise me of it as soon as possible, in order that passage may be secured for you and your companions. It will be well for you to arrive here three or four days previous to the day of departure.

"Your obedient servant,

"JULIUS HESSECI,

"Sec'y and Treas. So. Emigration Society."

*Montgomery *Advertiser and Gazette*, January 19, 1858.

†DuBose: *Life and Times of Yancey*, p. 349.

‡Montgomery *Advertiser and Gazette*, October, 1858.

Early in November the rumor began to spread among the people of Mobile that the elements of another Nicaraguan expedition were concentrating in that city. Groups of athletic, good-looking young men were to be seen sauntering along the streets or standing at the corners, many with gay colored Mexican shawls or fancy blankets around their shoulders.* These were Walker's emigrants. One hundred and fifty strong, they left Mobile in the schooner *Susan*, Captain Maury, during the first week of December. Col. Anderson, one of Walker's veterans, was in command of the expedition, which we are told consisted "mostly of the class found about the wharves of Southern cities, with here and there a Northern bank cashier who had suddenly changed his vocation."† The emigrants came to grief before reaching their destination. The *Susan* stranded on a coral reef off the coast of Honduras and the men were rescued by the British sloop-of-war *Basilisk* and brought back to America.‡ When the *Basilisk* reached the port of Mobile her officers and some of the filibusters were banqueted by the citizens and received the freedom of the city as a token of esteem.

In August, 1860, the city of Mobile was again the scene of filibustering operations.§ About a hundred men under the command of Walker sailed from this port early in the month and on the 15th landed in Honduras, near the town of Trujillo, which was captured in short order. But Walker's career in this country was destined to be a short one. The British war vessel *Icarus*, acting in co-operation with the Honduran forces, compelled him to surrender September 3 at the Indian village of Lemas. The surrender was made to the British naval officer, who turned Walker over to the mercy of the Hondureños. On September 11 he was tried by court-martial and condemned to be shot the next morning.||

With the death of Walker filibustering in America came to a close. The following year the nation was in the throes of a great war which gave lovers of adventure ample opportunity to seek fame and glory without leaving their own country, and which eventually wiped out many of the conditions rendering filibusterism possible.

*Ibid, November 15, 1858.

†Doubleday: *Filibuster War in Nicaragua*, p. 201.

‡Ibid, pp. 205-217. Roche: *Story of the Filibusters*, p. 167.

§It was also in Mobile that Walker published a very complete history of his expeditions—*The War in Nicaragua*—written during the two years of his enforced leisure.

||Roche: *Story of the Filibusters*, pp. 173-178.

THE EARLY MISSIONS OF THE SOUTH.

(FLORIDA, ALABAMA, LOUISIANA.)

BY ANNE BOZEMAN LYON, of Mobile, Ala.

FLORIDA.

From the dark pages of Spanish history glows the figure of Ximenes. Severely, but withal so purely, do his intent eyes meet the most critical gaze that the memory of him is radiant with genius. Notwithstanding that his long life, from the moment of his elevation to the position of Isabella's confessor, was an endless triumph, in his own esteem he was never other than a Franciscan monk. Under his costly cardinal's robes he constantly wore the coarse frock. His daily fare was that of an eremite; his chief relaxation the elucidation of perplexing questions; but always pervading every thought was a divine humility.

During his novitiate among the Observantines, or directing affairs of state as Regent of Spain, Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros would alone compel the regard of the world to his order, were it not that their martyrdom in America has made the Franciscans a glorious acquisition to Christianity.

Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1512, with a fleet of three caravels, came to drink from the fathomless spring, the fountain of eternal youth. But in place of rejuvenescence this friend of Columbus found only a lonely grave in the land on that long ago Easter day.

Unknowingly de Leon brought to Florida a better life than any bubbling-up from the earth, or rippling in orange groves. Through anticipation he had prevision of the power of the Church in the new colony; for after he had completed preparations to return to Florida in 1521, he quaintly stated to Charles V. his wish that "Christ's name be praised in the island." And it was praised; but how? Above the roar of flames, the moans of dying men, and the clashing of savage weapons through human skulls. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the aching, bleeding feet of suffering monks marked a veritable Via Crucis. From mission to mission the cross

was borne by hands that even in death failed to relinquish the precious symbol of their faith.

The site of the first Florida Mission, presumably Dominican, is veiled in obscurity, and the names of the priests are unknown. The second is indissolubly associated with the great missionary, Anthony de Montesinos. Although its existence was pitifully brief, the learned Dominican doubtless preached as eloquent sermons as those in which he denounced the enslavement of the Indians in Santo Domingo.

Father Montesinos accompanied Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon in his expedition to Florida. Two other Dominicans were with them, Father Anthony de Cervantes and Brother Pedro de Estrada.

Ayllon hardly fared better in his enterprise than de Leon had done. After the establishment of his people at Guandape a terrible fever laid hold on Ayllon, and he died in the arms of the good Fathers on St. Luke's day, 1526.

A disastrous outlook it was even to the indomitable Montesinos, when it was determined to abandon the country. He lamented bitterly when Francis Gomez sailed for Santo Domingo with the body of Commander Ayllon. There is brief mention that the caravel containing the remains foundered. But Father Montesinos escaped death on the return voyage, as he afterward went to Venezuela. In the list preserved in his covenant at Salamanca, "Obiit martyr" is written opposite his name. A meagre epitaph is this for one so truly great, yet it holds a tragedy in its terseness.

Nine years had passed since Ximenes' lifeless body, arrayed in the splendor of sacerdotal robes, was placed in a chair of state, and his hands and feet kissed by weeping multitudes. Many changes had marked the passage of events in Spain, but the Franciscans were as fervent in their religion as when the mighty cardinal dwelt a simple monk among them. To labor for the propagation of the Word was ever with them a holy task. What more natural than a body of Franciscans setting out with the train of Panfilo de Narvaez to Florida? The leader of these pious men was Fray Juan Xaurez. He belonged to the twelve members of the order who founded a mission in Mexico. The success crowning his labors in the land of Montezuma inspired him to establish a mission in Florida.

The King of Spain believed that Fray Xaurez had a special power to convert the Indians, and readily assented to his desire to accompany Narvaez. As if in ratification of his confidence, the monarch proposed the erection of a Bishopric in Florida. There is no record of any diocese of Rio de Palmas, and this honor, much as he deserved it, was never bestowed upon Fray Xaurez.

Visions of the stupendous work before him absorbed the monk's mind during his voyage to America, as earnest prayers were offered for guidance in his mission. It was well that those humble Franciscans had divine consolation to solace their souls, for terrible hardships assailed them near Cuba and Santo Domingo—first of the trials they had to encounter.

Nothing in ecclesiastical history can be more sublimely pathetic than these men going forth from their peaceful convent life in the name of the Saviour to face peril and often death. Arsenius in the cells of Scetis, silently weeping day and night over the profligacy of falling Rome, was not so holy as this Fray Xaurez. To the former the limits of temporal existence were bound by the palm-mat where he sat weeping until he was stone-blind. To him there was nothing to do for the world save lament over its sins; his place in it, according to his view, was not to guide and direct the sons of Theodosius, not to rise from his mat, crucifix in hand, to journey forth as a man inspired to preach and teach the Faith.

Beholding savage nations tearing down idols and prostituting themselves at the foot of the Cross, the little Franciscan band left the retirement of century-old monasteries. After tossing upon the sea like driftwood, the fleet came within sight of Florida on April 14th, 1528. The company landed two days later, and, in the name of the King of Spain, took possession of the territory. The missionaries consecrated the spot to the Lord through the Holy Mass.

Only a short stay was made in Florida by de Narvaez, since disappointment and misfortune met him at every turn. Neither for priest nor explorer was anything to be gained by lingering in the country; and, with prayers to the Mother of God for deliverance from their sad plight, the Spaniards prepared to set sail for some settlement of their own people.

A bitter contrast was the actual to the sanguine imaginings of the Franciscans! Instead of broad forests echoing with the melody of *Te Deum* and *Ave Maria*, there issued from the shadowy depths the growls of blood-seeking beasts, the raucous screech of owls and bellowing of hideous things like nothing ever seen except upon the Nile. From giant trees waved gray pennons of moss, as if Nature had draped the primitive world in signs of woe because of the spiritual blindness that prevailed among its people.

The ship in which the expedition sailed from Spain had been sent away by de Narvaez, and, in order to leave Florida, boats had to be made. The Spaniards, embarking, moved outward till they reached the Gulf of Mexico near Mobile Bay. There the occupants of the little fleet huddled together for consultation, vainly hoping that succor would come. De Narvaez and all but four of his followers were lost in a storm on the Gulf. Xaurez reached Malhado Island, but died of starvation. An old writer says: "God truly rewarded Fray Juan Xaurez' starvation with the abundance of Heavenly kindness, and satisfied him with imperishable nourishment."

The exploration of de Soto and Cabeza de Vaca, one of the four survivors of the de Narvaez party, contain nothing of note concerning the establishment of missions in Florida, but soon after the martyrdom of Father Juan de Padilla near Quivira in New Mexico another effort was made to convert the natives of Florida. In 1549 the Dominican Father Louis de Barbastro, at the command of Charles V, sailed from Vera Cruz with Fathers Gregory de Beteta, Diego de Tolosa, John Garcia and others to found a mission in Florida. These priests went unarmed. Their vessel, the *Santa Maria de la Encina*, touched at Havana long enough for the Fathers to engage the services of Magdalena, a converted Florida Indian woman, as interpreter. On Ascension Day the *Santa Maria* cast anchor on the western shore near the Bay of Tampa. Father Cancer was eager to land, but wished to sail up the coast with the hope of meeting a friendly tribe of Indians. The captain of the vessel peremptorily refused to comply with the priest's request, and compelled landing where he willed. Father Diego Tolosa and Fuentes, a sailor, landed; the

latter was immediately killed by the natives. Father Cancer entreating the sailors to row him to the beach, and meeting with stern refusal, leaped from the row-boat, waded ashore, and was murdered before the eyes of his friends. Even as his blood ran warm upon the sand of the beach the *Santa Maria* hoisted sail and set out seaward.

During the next ten years missionaries, chiefly Dominican, entered Florida but did little of consequence. Occasionally there is brief mention of Mass said in sylvan chapels. No convents nor churches were reared during the years 1555 to 1565 to attest the secure foothold of the church within the land. After long and sickening failure on the part of the priests, Pedro Menendez sailed from Spain with eleven Franciscans and Fathers of other Orders, Mercedarian and Jesuit. On St. Augustine's Day, Aug. 28, the Spanish commander reached Florida. He entered the harbor of St. Augustine the 6th of September. Some of his officers landed with instructions to select the site of the Fort. The next day Menendez landed with impressive pomp, such as the grandees of Spain delighted in. Of this a noted Catholic writer says:

"Amid the thunder of artillery and the blasts of trumpets the banners of Castile and Arragon were unfurled. The priest, Mendoza Grajales, who had landed the previous day, took a cross and proceeded to meet him, followed by soldiers chanting the *Te Deum*. Menendez advanced to the cross, which he kissed on bended knees, as did all who followed him." The solemn Mass of Our Lady was then offered at a spot still preserved on Spanish maps. It was called *Nombre de Dios*, since there God was first invoked by the awful sacrifice of the New Law. A fresh spiritual existence dawned for ill-fated Florida. The shrine of *Nuestra Senora de la Leche* was erected, and marked decisively a step upward in the history of Spain. Unfortunately, there is no account of the first church at St. Augustine, and there is only confused information concerning the chapels of San Matheo and San Felipe. Positive knowledge is extant of the third Catholic chapel in Florida. It was built for Father Juan Rogel of Pamplona, a friend of St. Francis Borgia, on Charlotte Harbor. Both of these welcomed the return of Menendez from Spain, in 1568, and the ten priests who accompanied him. For every impetus given

to the progress of religion, there was always proportionate discouragement in the form of fierce lapses into the old idolatrous faith, or revolting massacres, as in the case of Father Segura, who, at the desire of Menendez was going to establish a mission on the Chesapeake, and was murdered by his guide, Don Luis de Velasco, somewhere on the Rappahannock. After the slaughter of Father Segura and his brother missionaries, the surviving Jesuits in Florida were sent to Mexico by St. Francis Borgia. For a long time there was much despondency regarding Florida. As if to intensify this this Sir Francis Drake, in 1586, destroyed St. Augustine by fire. Toward the close of the century, other Franciscans arrived with their *custos*, Father Francis Marron. Monks of various Orders hastened to Florida. Missions were rapidly founded, but, in many instances, a pestilential fever sapped the life of the indefatigable laborers. The Indians, when fully under the influence of the Fathers, seemed a gentle, pastoral people. They brought offerings of flowers, fruits and corn to their instructors, and took devout part in the sacraments, but under their placid, almost phlegmatic exterior, their wild and lawless passions smouldered, ready to leap up at the least provocation.

A son of the Cacique of the Island of Guale had flung aside all restraint of christianity, and indulged in such abhorrent immorality that Father Corpa sought to recall him to a sense of his wrong-doing. Sullenly the young Indian listened to the admonition. At its close he sent out to apprise his people in Tolemato, a lonely village, of his anger against the Franciscan. When the Father went out at dawn to church, the treacherous chieftain sprang upon him and killed him with a tomahawk. The savages leaped forward with fiendish satisfaction, and severing his head from his body bore it aloft on a pole. The brutal massacre followed in the neighboring villages, and crowned as martyrs the helpless priests.

The earliest permanent missions were founded near St. Augustine, and were *Nombre de Dios*, San Juan and San Pedro. It was at San Juan that the scholarly Fray Francis Pareja was stationed. Great as his learning was, he thankfully and humbly accepted the assistance of Doan Maria, the woman chief, in his work.

In 1602 the priests could number twelve hundred baptized Indians. Canco was Governor of Florida; he elected the Guardian of the Convent as parish priest. "Meanwhile the Franciscans were joined by new missionaries of their order, and at the General Chapter held in Toledo, in 1603, the eleven convents in Florida, Havana and Bazamo were erected into a *custodia* by Father Bernardo de Salva, Commissary General of the Indies." In attestation of the force of religion the guardian of the convent, with the assistance of one priest, baptized, in 1643, five thousand Indians.

St. Augustine was now a flourishing town with aspirations of greater dignity. The Governor, Don Diego de Rebolledo, importuned the King of Spain, to plead with his Holiness to elevate Florida into an Episcopal See. It was then included in the visitations of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, though the inhabitants objected to the necessarily delayed coming of the prelate. The grave question did not progress beyond discussion of the Indians by the King and Council, and the colonists had to solace themselves, as best they could without a bishopric.

The missions of Florida at that time numbered thirty-two; the converted Indians were 26,000. This prosperity was not of long duration, as the missions received a terrible blow when the Governor commanded the Cacique of Tarigica to send each chief of the Apalaches to St. Augustine with a tribute of corn. Naturally, the haughty pride of the Cacique was bitterly offended, and war was declared against the Spaniards. At its close the Apalache Missions were entirely destroyed.

Life among the missions went on as it had formerly done, till the English, in 1702, came down from South Carolina and invaded the province. With inexplicable hostility Governor Moore attacked Florida. In the same spirit as that in which the Acadians were driven from Grand Pre, he wreaked his ferocity upon the priests and their Indian charges. The three towns on St. Mark's Island occupied by christian natives were burned—a senseless holocaust was made of the poor creatures he had wished to enslave. St. Augustine was also burned, Rare books, belonging to the Franciscans, were consumed by the flames; sacred shrines were overthrown by vandal hands.

Everywhere devastation spread before the English commander. Father Juan de Parga was burned at the stake, his body horribly hacked. The Indians he had sought to convert, and loved as his own, were taken to Cuba and sold as slaves.

This manifestation of brutality from a civilized people seemed to crush the courageous spirit of the Mission Fathers, as hostility from the savages had failed to do. Although Florida was soon afterwards made a Bishopric, the energy of the Franciscans was benumbed, and the heroic priests bowed to the inevitable when Spain ceded Florida to England on February 10, 1763.

The land was shorn of the cloisters and chapels, built in mediaeval style yet with a hint of Moorish influence in their architecture. Where they stood, with stately, dark-eyed Indians listening to the prayers offered by saintly men, the tropic fruit trees bloom; but the memory of those edifices will ever be a holy thing to men loving the chronicles of martyrs.

EARLY NEWSPAPER FILES IN THE EMORY COL-
LEGE LIBRARY, OXFORD, GA.*

Macon, Ga.

1. The Macon Advertiser [and Agricultural and Mercantile
Intelligencer].
April, 1831, to April, 1832.
2. The Georgia Messenger.
March, 1826, to March, 1827.
November, 1830, to April, 1847.
[Then combined with the Georgia Journal.]
3. The Georgia Journal and Messenger.
1851 to 1857, and 1858 to 1860.
4. The Macon Telegraph.
November, 1826, to November, 1827.
November, 1830, to September, 1832.
[Name changed to Georgia Telegraph.]
The Georgia Telegraph.
October 1832 to December, 1835.
[Name again changed to Macon Telegraph.]
The Macon Telegraph.
November, 1836, to December, 1837.

Savannah, Ga.

- The Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser.
1798 to 1804, and 1806 to 1810.

Milledgeville, Ga.

1. The Georgia Journal.
October, 1820, to September, 1823.
October, 1832, to September, 1835.
May to December, 1837.
2. The Federal Union.
January, 1832, to December, 1837.
3. The Southern Recorder.
June, 1820, to January, 1825.
January, 1861, to December, 1862.

* Furnished through the courtesy of E. M. Banks, A. M., Acting Professor of History in Emory College, and Ulrich B. Phillips, Ph. D., of the University of Wisconsin.

Columbus, Ga.

1. The Columbus Enquirer.
January, 1838, to December, 1841.
2. The Georgia Argus.
December, 1838, to November, 1841.

Augusta, Ga.

The State Rights Sentinel.
April to October, 1834.
January to October, 1836.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Southern Confederacy.
March, 1861, to February, 1862.

Richmond, Va.

The Richmond Enquirer.
June, 1826, to December, 1827.

Charleston, S. C.

The Charleston Observer.
1833 to 1838 (fragmentary).

Tuscaloosa, Ala.

The Independent Monitor.
March, 1840, to August, 1842.

Mobile, Ala.

The Clay Banner.
February to November, 1844.

Washington, D. C.

The National Intelligencer.
1812 and 1813, in fragments; January to December, 1816. The
Weekly National Intelligencer, March to October, 1849, and
December, 1851, to June, 1853.

New York.

The New York American.
November, 1824, to October, 1827.

WINFREE, OF VIRGINIA.

COMPILED BY MRS. WILLIAM C. STUBBS,
of Audubon Park, New Orleans.

FROM CHESTERFIELD COUNTY RECORDS, AND NEW KENT
COUNTY, ST. PETER'S PARISH REGISTER.

Charles. Jacob and John Winfree (or Winfrey), were living in New Kent county, Va., 1688, and perhaps earlier.

Charles was surveyor of the highways 1711 and died 1717. Jane Winfree died 1688, and Mary Winfrey died 1718.

Jacob Winfree married 1698, Elizabeth Alvord, who died 1714. Issue: John (b. 1699); Jane (b. 1701); Jacob (b. 1704); Elinor (b. 1707); Elizabeth (b. 1709, died infant); Henry (b. 1710).

John Winfree and ———, his wife, had issue: Mary (b. 1706).

John Winfree and Frances, his wife, had issue: Anne (b. 1725); Peter (b. 1726); John (b. 1728J).

Charles Winfree and ———, his wife, had issue: Susanna (b. 1715).

Charles Winfree and ———his wife, had issue; Susanna (b. 1724); Anne (b. 1725); Charles (b. 1727); Richard (b. 1729); Mary (b. 1729), twins.

The foregoing information is all from St. Peter's Parish Register, New Kent county, Va.

These are the earliest mentioned Winfree's I have yet found, and it is probable from these are descended the families scattered through Chesterfield, Cumberland, Amelia and Lunenburg counties mentioned below.

FROM CHESTERFIELD COUNTY RECORDS.

Charles Winfree's lands in Chesterfield county, proce-
sioned 1739.—*Henrico County Records*. (Was not this the
above Charles of New Kent county, 1727?)

Valentine Winfree (12 June 1746, 314 acres in Chesterfield county, "beginning at a pine parting Matthew Farley's and Daniel Worsham's land, on by William Hatcher's corner in Procter's Creek; thence to Stephen Beasley's line, along to a pine parting Thomas Tanner and Robert Moseley, and thence to Charles Clay's corner," etc.—*Land Book 28, p. 14, Richmond, Va.*

It is evident that Valentine Winfree was son of one of the above brothers of New Kent county, and from the best evidence, his mother was of the Major family, some of whom were also settled in New Kent. He also bought land in Chesterfield county in 1750, of Edward Woodbridge, "joining Stephen Watkins," which he gave, in 1776, to his son, Reuben Winfree; and, in 1754, bought 130 acres on Swift Creek from ——— Womack; and 100 acres in 1756 from ——— Dunivant; witness James Watkins; and 200 acres in 1758, from John Roberts, on Swift Creek; and 200 acres in 1771, called "Gills," in Chesterfield county, from Henry Batte and William Eaton, executors of William Pride, late of Prince George Co." (The above are mentioned as the names of his neighbors, familiar also in some Alabama localities.) He and Isham Thompson became surveyors of the road, 1751, "in the place of Stephen Beasley and Robert Thompson, dec'd." In 1771 he deeded land to his son, Henry Winfree, and his son-in-law, William Graves. His "home tract" was in Dale parish, upon Swift Creek. He married Martha, daughter of William Graves of Chesterfield county, who made his will 1776, and mentions "daughter Martha Winfree." In the Chesterfield county *Will Books, Vol. IV., 465*, is his will, (dated 21st July, 1795,) as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen—I, Valentine Winfree, of the county of Chesterfield, being of sound mind and memory, doth make and ordain this, my last will and testament, in manner and form as followeth: I recommend my soul to Almighty God, who gave it to me, and I desire my body decently buried by my executors, etc., etc., and for what worldly estate it hath pleased God to bless me with, as follows: Imprimis—I lend unto my loving wife, Martha Winfree, the tract of land I live on (it being the land I purchased of Peter

Field Trent and others), also all household and kitchen furniture; also one third the use of my water grist-mill and its appurtenances and the miller by the name of Will; also 10 head of cattle, two horses, 10 sheep, 15 hogs, my carts, plows and all my plantation tools and articles of husbandry, and eight negroes named Bristow, Isaac, Tom, Peter, Nan, Nell, Ussey and Aggie, which said estate I lend unto my wife during her life in lieu of her dower. Item—I give Bristow and Nell, after my wife's death, to my son, Valentine Winfree, and Aggie to my grandson, Christopher Winfree, and in case of his death, to my grandson, Valentine Winfree, brother of Christopher.

Item—I give my negroes Tom and Isaac to my son, Major Winfree, and Peter and Nan to my son, Henry Winfree; to my two sons, Major and Valentine Winfree, my water grist-mill and the land that it is on, as tenants in common, and not as joint-tenants, and also the negro miller.

Item—To my son, Major Winfree, all my lands in Chesterfield county, containing the tract or plantation whereon he now lives, and also the 200 acres whereon I live, but of which my wife is to have the use during her life.

Item—To my daughter, Maryann Oliver, the negro girl Ussey.

Item—To Nelson Winfree, son of my son Valentine, the negro Nance.

Item—And all the increase of my negroes to my eight children, Maryann Oliver, Henry Winfree, James Winfree, Reuben Winfree, William Winfree (now dec'd), John Winfree, Major Winfree and Valentine Winfree—all to my seven children now living, and the children of my deceased son, William Winfree.

Item—To my sons, James, Reuben and John Winfree, and my grandson, Thomas Graves, £25 each.

Item—To my sons, Major and Valentine Winfree, £50 each.

Item—To my grandchildren, children of my son William, dec'd., £25 each, and to my grandson, Valentine Winfree, son of my son Henry, £25, and to my grandson, Thomas Graves, and his heirs the four negroes, Sally, Daniel, Isham and Oliver, they being the negroes I lent my daughter (Ann Graves), his mother, dec'd.

Item—To my executors, £50 specie with which to purchase a negro boy for my daughter, Maryann Oliver.

To my wife, Martha Winfree, £10. All the rest of my estate not mentioned, I give to my sons, Major and Valentine.

Executors: Wife Martha Winfree, son Henry and Jesse Cogbill.

Teste: Christopher Cheatham, George Cogbill, Jr., Peter Franklin."

He had nine children: Maryann, wife of Dionysius Oliver, (afterward of Elbert county, Georgia), Major, Valentine, Ann, (married William Graves), Henry, James, Reuben, William (dec'd.) and John Winfree.

Of these, Dionysius Oliver (d. 24 Sept. 1818) and wife, Maryann Winfree, moved first to Mecklenburg county, Va., and then, in the Revolution, to Elbert county, Georgia, where he figured extensively in its records as a patriot and man of wealth and influence. He married (secondly) Jane Jackson, by whom he had one child, Jackson. Issue: Peter Oliver of Broad River; John Oliver, of Petersburg, Ga.; James Oliver; Dionysius Oliver; Thomas Oliver, of Elberton; William Oliver; Martha Oliver (Mrs. Hancock), grandmother of Senator Benj. Tillman, of South Carolina; McCarty; Eleanor (Mrs. Goss); and Frances (Mrs. Cook.) These all left descendants in Georgia and elsewhere throughout the south.

Henry Winfree (above) in 1795 had son, living, Valentine Winfree. Mrs. Ann (Winfree) Graves left son, Thomas Graves, (in 1795.)

James Winfree, a deed 1775, from "Dionysius Oliver of Mecklenburg county, Va., 115 acres in Chesterfield county." Married, before 1777, Nancy, sister of William Scott, who, in 1783, deeded to her several negroes, and gave to her son, William Winfree, in 1777, a 'negro slave'—Ussey." Her father was Walter Scott of Chesterfield, will 1782.

Reuben Winfree—no further mention of him.

William Winfree was dead in 1795, leaving several children.

John Winfree—no further mention of him, unless he was John Winfree who, in 1755, bought 360 acres in Lunenburg county "joining William Byrd," but this is not probable.

(See *Saunders's Early Settlers of Alabama*.) Of Major Winfree we have no further mention.

Valentine Winfree, above (probably next to Major in birth), was born 15th June, 1762, and died in Chesterfield county, 1824.

His great-grandson, Hon. Philip Valentine Cogbill, present Clerk of Chesterfield and member of the State Senate, most courteously placed at my disposal (while visiting the old courthouse in 1902) the register of this line contained in the family Bible of this ancestor. From it we copied that Valentine Winfrey married 3rd January, 1783, Lucy Cheatham (b. 26th March, 1764; d. 1836), daughter of Christopher Cheatham, Sr., of Chesterfield, and had issue: Nelson, Christopher, Valentine, Martha Johnson, Lucy Hobson, Polly Cheatham, Thomas, Margaret, Robert Burton, Elizabeth Owen, William Washington, Thomas Edwin and George Nelson. Of these,

1. Nelson Winfree (b. 24th Oct., 1783; d. 3rd June, 1813) m. (1808), Frances, daughter of George Vaden.

2. Christopher Winfree (b. 23rd Oct., 1785; d. 1858); married (1), 1808, Mary (d. 1815), daughter of William Warwick, and (2), 1817, Cornelia M. Tilden, and had by first marriage Louisa Ann, b. 1809; Lucy Adelaide, b. 1811; Martha Caroline, b. 1813; and by second marriage, Mary Cornelia, b. 1817.

3. Valentine Winfree (b. 27 Oct., 1789; d. 1851); married (25th May, 1826), Delilah A. Lafon, and was sheriff of Chesterfield. Issue: Letitia, b. 22nd April, 1827, and Lucy Catherine, who married W. W. Tilghman Cogbill, of Chesterfield, who fell in Pickett's immortal charge at Gettysburg, and left among four children, the Hon. Philip Valentine Cogbill, clerk of Chesterfield, (at present) who married Julia daughter of Bartholomew W. Truehart, of Amelia county, and has John Valentine and five other little ones.

4. Martha Johnson Winfree (b. 11 Oct., 1790) m., 1817, John, son of Thomas Lafon, of Huguenot descent, and had Laurens Lafon, born 1819; died infant.

5. Lucy Hobson Winfree, (b. 18 Dec., 1791; d. 31 Dec., 1814); m. 1813, William Spencer Dance, and had Laura Ann, b. 1814; d. young.

6. Polly Cheatham Winfree, (b. 7 Jan'y, 1794; d. 1825) m. 1824, William Winfree, her cousin, son of Reuben.

7. Thomas Winfree, b. 23 Nov., 1796; d. 5 July, 1859.

8. Margaret Winfree, b. 7 March, 1798; d. 21 July, 1820.

9. Robert Burton Winfree, b. 2nd March, 1800.

10. Elizabeth Owen Winfree, b. 27th Jan'y, 1803.

11. William Washington Winfree, b. 15th Oct., 1806; d. 15th Aug., 1807.

12. Thomas Edwin Winfree, b. 29th Nov., 1810.

13. George Nelson Winfree, b. 15th Oct., 1812.

Of this line was Maj. C. V. Winfree, of Lynchburg, Va., a very influential and wealthy citizen, who died July, 1902. His will divided his large estate between his wife and four children: H. Lee, Peyton B., W. Russell and Mrs. Walter B. Ryan.

Contemporaneous with Valentine Winfree, in Chesterfield county, were Henry, Israel and Archer Winfree. Henry and Valentine, in 1774, bought a tract together; they were probably brothers.

Henry Winfree's will was dated 19th Nov., 1779, "wife Judith (Walthall?). Children: Elizabeth, Mrs. Judith Franklin, Ann, Sarah, Archibald, Matthew and Marable. Executors: wife Judith, Archibald Walthall and Peter Franklin." (*Will Book III.*, 250.)

Henry Winfree, Jr., of Dale parish, and member of its vestry 1792, married, 1784, Elizabeth Jarratt. His will (12th Oct., 1793) leaves his estate "to his wife, Betty Winfree, to be divided at her death or marriage, between his five children: Henry, David, Judith Farley Winfree, Polly Archer Winfree and Susanna Jarratt Winfree. Executors: Peter Franklin, Major Winfree and William Findley. Teste: Matthew Winfree and Abraham Creel."

One of the Winfrees married Ann, daughter of Josiah Flournoy (whose will, in Chesterfield, was dated 1816.)

William Graves, of Chesterfield, will, 1776, mentions "daughter Martha Winfree." Mary, daughter of Ralph and Rachel Graves, married (1775) Isaac Winfree. Mrs. Elizabeth Turpin's will (Chesterfield county, 1767) mentions "daughter Mary Winfree and grand-daughter Sally Winfree."

Walter Scott, of Chesterfield (will 1782) mentions "daughter Ann Winfree."

Mrs Sarah Harrison, of Chesterfield (will 1781), mentions "daughter Elizabeth Winfree."

William E. Winfree, (son of William, of Chesterfield county), at William and Mary College, Va., 1828.

Jacob Winfree, 1758--604 acres in Amelia county, and Gideon Winfree advertised a stray horse in Amelia county, 1773.--*Virginia Gazette*.

John Winfrey, 1755, 360 acres in Lunenburg, joining William Byrd.

"Winfree's Mill" in Cumberland county, (now Powhatan,) mentioned in the will of J. J. Flournoy.--*Virginia Mag. of Hist.*, etc., II., 324.

Isaac Winfree married in Cumberland county, 1756, Sarah Brown.

Stephen Winfree married in Cumberland county, 1789. Mary Bailey.

Jacob Winfree's will (Cumberland county, 1772) mentions "wife Jane, Sons Isaac, Charles and Jacob; and daughters Ann Winfree and Sarah Robinson."

John Winfree's will, (in Cumberland county, 1793), mentions "wife Judith; sons, John and Jesse Winfree; daughters, Frances Howard and Elizabeth Farrar."

WINFREY, OF GEORGIA.

Since the Revolution many have spelled the name Winfrey. Jacob and Jesse Winfrey (or Winfree, as it was spelled in the entry of land) came to Washington county, Georgia, after 1790. Jesse had been a soldier of the State line of Georgia, and married Frances A. Spencer, daughter of John Spencer of Charlotte county, Va., and his wife Sally, seventh child of Thomas Watkins of Chickahominy. Their five children and their descendants are herewith copied from the pamphlet in 1853 by Francis N. Watkins of Virginia.

1. Eliza Julia Winfrey, m. (1), Dr. Adam Walker, of Columbus, Ga., and had Robert W. Walker and (2) Jonathan Wood, of Georgia.

2. Sarah Watkins Winfrey, m. (1) Isaac Walker of Columbus, Ga. Issue: Eliza, m. Ewell Morrow of Georgia--several children. Mrs. Walker, m. (2) Ewell McCoy, and had Leroy McCoy, who married Sarah Johnston of Heard county; and Martha F. McCoy.

3. Benjamin E. Winfrey, m. Sarah Tindall, Columbus, Georgia.

4. Francis A. Winfrey, m. D. D. Cooper of Georgia, and had Robert Washington Cooper, who fell in the Mexican war; Mary A. married Col. N. C. Barnett, Sec'y of State, Georgia; David F. of California; Martha E. married John Field of Tennessee; Georgia J. and Augusta R. Cooper.

5. Ann Lee Winfrey, married Thomas Colvard of Georgia, and had Alpheus Colvard, m. Ann Lamar of Macon; Mary F. and Jesse Winfrey Colvard.

The above article contains original research in the old records of Chesterfield county, Va., the *St. Peter's Parish Register* of New Kent county, Va., and other sources, never before copied for publication.

DOCUMENTS.

The following letters are from originals, and give insight into the affairs and life of the early immigrants into America and of their families and friends in Ireland.—THE EDITOR.

I. LETTER TO WILLIAM DICKSON, FROM HIS PARENTS.

Carntall 2d November 1794.

Dear Son William—

I take this opportunity of writing a few lines to you To let you know your Mother &c are in good Health at present thank God, for It we Recd. your Letter Dated Octr. 1793 and has not had a letter from you Since I wrote to you at May last or June My Brother Hugh Recd. a letter from you some time Ago It give us pleasure to hear that you were in good Health all your Sisters & Brothers are well uncles and Aunts I am Sorry to Inform you of My Father being in a very Poor State of Health he has been confined to his Bed this twelve or thirteen weeks and I Dont think he will Recover your Brother John writes to you and Inclosed in his one from My Brother Hugh A war with America & England is greatly talked of here it is Said here that it is the Intention of the New Congress to Declare war Again England from the many Injuries the Americans have Recd. from the British the People here would Not think it atall uncommon If the would; as to this Kongdom It is a Laying upon almost Every Article, from the Great Quantity of Cost it Takes from Government to prosecute the war Against the French I will give you a list articles that there Must be a Stamp Duty Upon, Viz Leather, Bills of Exchange, Receipts, Drafts, promissary Notes &c and several other articles of the Necessarys of life.

Dear Wm

Please be so good as to let us know the Sentiments of the American People Respecting the Conduct of the British Government as It is Greatly told here that the Americans are prone for war *an* be so good as to let us know how Hugh McClury and Family is as it is said here his wife has lost her Eye Sight My Compliments to Mr. John McCreary and let

him know I never will be able to Recompence him for his kindness to you Also to James & his wife & family and let them know that John & Agness Fulton are well and Andrew Houston and his Family Isabella is Getting Batter Andrew Houston thinks very Strange he Did not Receive a word from James McCreary or his wife all last year But what was in Your Letter Please write to us the first opportunity and every one that offers No More at present from your loving Father & Mother

JOHN & MARGARET DICKSON.

II. LETTER OF REV. WILL. STEEL DICKSON, TO HIS NEPHEW WILLIAM DICKSON.

(The writer of this letter was a Presbyterian minister, and so strong an advocate of "The Liberty of Ireland" that today he would justly be called "a political Parson." Upon the charges that he was to lead in an uprising of the people, he was arrested and imprisoned in Fort St. George, North Britain (Scotland) for 3½ years. He was liberated on Christmas day 1802. Within the last few years much has been written of Rev. Wm. Steel Dickson in the periodicals of Belfast, which exonerated him of the charges of the British Government. After liberation he wrote a book which he called *Dickson's Narrative*, which is now very much valued in Ireland. There is only one copy known in America owned by the descendants of his nephew William Dickson, (to whom this letter is written) who now resides in Greeneville, Tenn., bearing the name of Williams.

The great sea battle described was fought off the coast, near Ushant. The British Commander was Lord Howe. For an authentic account see *July Review of Reviews*, (1898), or *June Cornhill* of the same year. Until these accounts appeared the present owner of the old letter could find no name for this great battle.

Dear William :

I am happy to see by your Letter to your Parents that you are so comfortably settled, and have enjoyed so good Health since you Arrived in America. That you may long enjoy it is my fervent Prayer. You were happy in setting off the Time you did, as Prospects seem to darken here every Day, and God only known when the Horrors will cease which prevail in Europe.

The present War is the most bloody & barbarous that ever disgraced Mankind, and it would appear that every Power in Europe will soon be engaged in it. The French seem to be superior to all their Enemies by Land. They had an Engage-

ment with our Fleet for three Days which ended June 1st; they lost 6 Line of Battle Ships taken & two sunk. But it is said our Fleet is rendered almost unseless, Some of our Ships have 100 killed & twice that Number wounded. There were 25 Sail of the Line on each Side. On the other Hand the united Armies have got a complete Defeat in Flanders. Wonderful are the Severities both in Britain and Ireland on account of supposed Sedition. Some have been transported to Botany Bay and others condemned to Long Imprisonment & heavy Fines. How much further the Government may proceed is yet unknown.

I left all will at home on Wednesday, and arrived here last Night. My Father is become very frail, but not more so, than may be expected at his Time of Life. The Rest are well, as is your Father's Family. David is here with me. He has been two Seasons in Edinburg, & promises to do very well. You'll be surprised to know that he is already taller than I am. He sends Love to you.

I write this on my Knee, in great Haste, as I have to ride a long Journey today. I have only to express my Hope that you will continue to deserve the Encouragement you have met with. I request also you may continue your Attention to the Duties and Ordinances of Religion. A Sence of God is the best Security agst. every temptation, and the best Support under every Calamity. God bless and prosper You. You shall have a long Letter, the next Opportunity, if possible. Believe me, Dr. Wm. Your affectionate Uncle,

WILL. STEEL DICKSON.

Cornmoney.

June 20th, 1794.

III. LETTER TO WILLIAM DICKSON, FROM HIS PARENTS.

—————April 13th, 1796.

Dear William

I take this opportunity of writing to you to inform you that we are all in good health thanks be to God and we hope that these lines will find you in health also Your Grandfathers family are in good heaith and your Grand Father is yet alive and able to walk about. Your uncle Cal—th is Dead and has

left two Children he was dead a month before November Last your Brother Johns time is out against November first. that John Fulton and his wife think it strange that they have received no letters this Last season and Andrew Huston has got none either we received one of Sept. 21-95———thinking long till you pay us a visit and wishes you would write us what time you expect you will come over no doubt but you are expecting an account of the state of this Country it would be a very Arduous task for it is a Discontented people and a y—— Government in the last session of Parliament they have past an act that no man shall have any arms in his house without they be registrated before the Justice of the peace and you name and place of abode left in the hands of the Justices Clerk and when this is done it is then in the power of the Magistrate to call upon the people to give up their arms to be lodged when and where he pleases, and if the people when called upon to give up their arms refuse so to do (and this depends Just at the will of the magistrate) he the said Justice of the peace may with the Constables or army enter your house at any hour of the night and take away whatever arms he or they may find by force and if hindered in this act of robbery either by he or she it is Death by the Laws of the Irish Lawgivers without Judge or Jury this account is not in the least exaggerated although it perhaps it may appear so to an American ear and this But a part and small part of the evils which this Kingdom——der.

Andrew Hustons family and John Fultons family have each their kind Compliments to you and hopes that you will write to them and all your Brothers and Sisters Joins with us in sending their love to you no more at present But we remain your affectionate Father and Mother till Death

JOHN AND MARGARET DICKSON.

(NOTE—John and James Fulton came to America and became prominent merchants in Baltimore.)

“Brother” John was an apprentice in a grocery store in Belfast.)

IV. TO WILLIAM DICKSON, FROM HIS FRIEND JAMES
MCCRERY.

GLEAD CREEK, feb 15th 1797.

Sir

among other favours I am happy to Acknoledge the receipt of your letter deated jan'y 97 I have also to thank for Stoping my packet I rece'd them together last evening It give us pleasure to hear you are Settled so much to your liking and has Such happy prospects It is my Sincere wish the may long Continue I perfectly agree with my Father-inlaw with respect to frendShip and hopes you and I may always deserve each others regard and that of every Good man— it is said adversity is the touchstone of friendship we have both known a Little of it in America the time for your Emancipation is Come and I hope by the Blessing of God mine is at hand— I have made A final Settlement with John Got a title to all my Land except Sixty eight acres for which I have Howards Bond assigned to me by him and the deed is to be made when he returns from williamsburg. I paid him all but forty pounds which I intend to pay soon as Howard makes the Right then I bid adieu to those Books I hops forever— my letter from Ireland Contain Som Good news and also some very alarming also viz. that all frinds are well and that there is parsels of Goods ready to ship for me expected to Come by John Maggots family who are to set out early in the Spring the also informe me that the appear to be one the eve of being involved in the Calamities of war with all its horrors I understand the people of that Island are divided in three distince Clases first what is Caled united Irishmen which are very numerous whose wish it is that all Religious animosities should be buried won and that the protestant and Cathilick Should join in opinion & affection and thereby endeavor to have theirs Grevances redres'd by lawful and constitutional measures— The Second Class are Stiled Orange men A Bandite of Ruffins who are distitude of Religion and property the are Enlisted and paid by Government and part of their oath is to Exterminate the Catholicks of Ireland— about the first of Agust the marched through the town of Lurgan and it neighborhood Carring Coullars portrate of King william one the one Side and that of George third one the other— in the County Armagh upwards

of 700 Romish were oblidg to aband their homes by this Banditis or else be Comitided to the flames the third Class would wish to Join no party But Continue to leave the Burthen of oppression

Fanny joins me in Love to the Children

I Am your Affect.

JAMES MCCREERY.

V. LETTER TO WILLIAM DICKSON, FROM HIS PARENTS.

(This letter was written to William Dickson, of Greeneville, Tenn., by his parents in Ireland, and is in possession of the Williams family at Greeneville, who are descended from William Dickson. It will no doubt be of interest to those who have Irish ancestry to learn of the distressing conditions which caused so many to come over to this country. As will be noted the facilities for communication between the two countries then were very limited and uncertain, There could not have been any regular mail service, and letters were generally placed in care of the Captain of a vessel until he landed, when he delivered or posted them. The brother "Steel" referred to, together with ship, passengers and crew, was never heard from, having either gone down or been taken by the Algerian pirates, who swarmed the seas during that period.

CARNTALL, March 30th, 1801.

Dr. Son,

This to inform you that I took the opportunity of writing you some few Days before this, I believe of the Date of the 23rd. Instant, by a Vessel of the name of Olive Branch Bound for New York Directed for you in the State of Tennessee, to be forwarded by the Messrs John & James Fulton, Merchants of Baltimore—Thank God we are all in good Health at present and hopes this will find you the same. we have all been anxious of having a letter from you this long time, but to no purpose, for we have wrote often & had no Account from you but one letter these 14 months— But if I was sure you would not get the letter I wrote last I would take a pleasure in this, to relate the whole of it here but it be best for me for fear of your not getting the other to give you an Abridgement of it.

The first thing I will mention is of your Brother Steel embarking for this Country . . . Account ever Recd. from him, or them that went with him, or the Ship by the

the owners as yet; But your Cousin Saml. Martin can inform you of the particulars better than I can do at Present— Provisions is enormously Dear at present and many of the Inhabitants and Farmers of the lower orders is in a manner likely to quit their homes on Account of the bad crops and great Taxation and more going to be Laid on—

So but God only knows what the Result of these times will be or turn out to be— All enquiring friends and Neighbours is well— Your Brother John wrote you shortly by the Ship Ohio, and he is doing well, and carrying on Business for himself—

Your sister Elizabeth is greatly minded to come to this Country if you would give her any encouragement, for she has had a strong inclination of seeing you for these three years past, so in your first letter clear up her mind, whether you would advise her to come or not, &c.

Dr. Son when you write, which I hope you will do as soon as this comes to hand, be particular to mention in your letter, the proper way for us to Direct our letters so as that they may arrive to you in safety, for I fear that the one fourth of them does not come to hand &c.

Dear William your Mother and I is getting Old and very infirm caused by our many toils, labours, servitudes, to support a family on a small spot of Dear Land, but as yet we have made it off well together; but we fear as for the time to come— but we trust in Providence for he is all sufficient— we need not mention to you to make us some small help for perhaps it might injure your stock if you would. So no more at present but we all enjoin our well wishes and Love— as is the Prayers of your Affectionate Father & Mother

JOHN & MARGARET DICKSON.

VI. LETTER TO WILLIAM DICKSON, FROM HIS FATHER.

CARNTALL, 20th March, 1801.

DEAR SON—I take the opportunity of writing you, that we have Recd. no Letters of you since the Date of August 15th, 1799 and that we have wrote you several times but to no purpose. Thank God we are all in good Health at pres-

ent, and earnestly hopes and prays these few Lines will find you in the same &c. Your Brother Steel left this Country, and embarked in the Brig Nancy (belonging to Montgomery and Co. Belfast) bound for Norfolk in Virginia for flour & C—with two other Passengers and himself, one of them obliged by the Laws of the Land to go in Exile to your Country; the other to push his fortune; and Steel to see you &c— But as for yet; Ship, Crew or Passengers; never was heard of by the owners or Relations belonging to any of them, so none but God only knows what has been his, and their fate— for Alas! I am grieved to think—, Dr. Son your Mother wrote you this Winter, but I am afraid you did not Rec. the Letter as the Ship was cast away at Cork, and perhaps the bag which contained the Letters lost &c—. But your Cousin Saml. Martin can inform you of the particulars about your Brother Steel— Your Brother John has dissolved partnership with Jas. A. McCrea and is doing business extensively in the same place for himself— Your Uncle Willm. is still a prisoner in Fort St. George in North Britain &c— Your Aunt and family resides now in Newtonards Co. Down— Your Uncle Hugh is got Married of Late; to a woman of Portaferry and is well—your Uncle Robert & Grandmother is well and has their Love to you, as has also your Aunt Mary &c— as has also all the rest of your Uncles and Aunts &c— turn over—

Dr. Son we have had very troublesome times in Ireland, and is likely to Continue, for there is nothing but the appearance of Sword and famine at present, for the Pride and designs of England, States-men, and Landed property is surely Drawing down the hand of Divine Providence against them & us both— Land is rating high. Taxes not to be borne and hunger at the Door, for at this Instant the Meal sells at 5 | 0 per Stone of 14 lb. or 40 Shillings per cwt.—Potatoes from 4 | 4 to 6 | 0 Shillings per Bushell, Butter from 14.d to 16.d per lb. Beef from 6.d to 8.d per lb and all other articles equally as high—. So if the Northern Powers Joins the coalition with France (viz. Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Prussia) against England, wretched must her and our state be in trade & Commerce, and render Ireland ill fated for ever &c, &c—.

Dr. Son I am still in hopes of seeing you in this Country and visiting your Native place once more, as you always promised, for surely it would be a comfort to your old Mother & me also in seeing you— Andw. Houston and family is well, and his son William is got Married to a Daughter of John Carson's of Lowland— John & Agnes Fulton is well, and has their love to you— Your Brother John & Robt. with Sister Eliza and Jane, has their Brotherly & Sisterly love to you— John Heron & family has their Respects for you & has got two Daughters, a Jane & a Margret, &c, So no more but Remain your Loving and Affectionate Father,

JOHN DICKSON.

VII. LETTER TO WILLIAM DICKSON, FROM HIS PARENTS.

CARNTALL, August 23rd, 1801.

DEAR WILLIAM—Your long silence has given us great uneasiness this long time as we have not received a Letter from you since the 12th of January 1800 when we got one dated August 15th 1799 which gave us much pleasure as we had not received one from you for nearly three years before that. But now we inform you that we are all well at present (thank God) hoping you are the same we have wrote you Two letters last year and three the season before this. we are truly much concerned to inform you that your Brother Steel Left this the 6th of April 1800 in the Brig Nancy Bound for Norfolk and Richmond but neither have there been any account from him nor Vessel since but we suppose you have long since heard the particulars of his going away & c as your Cousin Samuel Martin has come to America since that time I suppose you have likewise heard of your Grand fathers Death which happened in January 1799. Your Uncle William is still confined in Fort George in Scotland but is in good health as are all his family who are living at Newton Ards all the rest of your friends here are well as far as I can at present recollect We have had a very great Dearth of the necessaries of Life here from the failure of Crops for Two years past. But thank God our Crops look very well this season There is no Material alteration among us since you heard from us your Brother John is well and is doing Business for himself in Belfast and

is doing well considering the times for some year's past and at present Trade of every kind is very Bad as there has been a considerable Alarm throughout the country and Great Britain for some time past from very great preparations that are making in France said to be for Invading some of these Kingdoms but how that may be God only knows. We would be highly gratified if you would write more frequently to us as it is the only Communications we can have with each other and therefore we think you should not be so negligent But we admit still you might have wrote and not come to hand But we again entreat you to write and let us know every particular of your affairs which you can in prudence and as soon as we receive a Letter from you we'll write everything that you may wish to be informed of We are now both getting in the Down Hill part of Life and therefore we look forward to the time when we must pay the Last tribute to Nature and from that we look earnestly for your promise of seeing us before that event if your affairs will admit of it and we would implore you to be mindful of your duty to that Being who can bless your endeavours after the things of this World and finally Crown you with the everlasting reward of a well spent Life which that it may be your constant care to merit as far as your own poor endeavours can is the earnest prayer of your loving father and Mother till Death.

JOHN AND MARGARET DICKSON.

P. S.—When you write to us let us know how we shall Direct our letters to you and you may direct to us as formerly Andrew Houston and family are all well as are also Mr. & Mrs. Fulton and Desires to be remembered to you as are also Wm. Houston and his family.

VIII. LETTER TO WILLIAM DICKSON FROM HIS PARENTS.

CARNTALL, April 10th, 1803.

DR. SON & DAUGHTER—We received your kind Letter bearing Date 10th August 1802, and are happy to hear of your Health and happiness in this world, thanks to the Supreme being for his many fold kindnesses and Love to us, we are all in health at present, as is also your friends and Relations in Ireland, but your uncle Jas. Stewart, who is in a Dying state for some time past. It is Reported with us that your

Old friend John McCreary of Bottetot is Dead. We have enjoyed peace, tranquility & plenty since we wrote you last, but about a fortnight ago some Disagreement to place between the English Court and that of France, concerning the treaty of Armiens, as england was to give up Malta, and evacuate Egypt, which to agreement the had not, so things on a sudden appeared bleak, and at present there is no other sound but the sound of War, tho' it is not proclaimed, but bears every prospect similar, for Press Warrents is issued, Recruiting going on brisk, & the Militia once more embodying, and all things in Confusion and Hurry, which makes us think, (not to speak in Public) that a War is inevitable sooner or later, for we may justly say that it has been a paper War, between the two Nations, ever since the Treaty took place, for the always have been gibing each other in a disdainful manner and never properly satisfied. But if a War does take place, it will be one of the bloodiest Conflict that ever England was engaged in and in our opinion it would be better for our Governors to put up with a little disgrace or a piece of dishonor, than to embark on an ocean of troubles, for the are about arming all the Inhabitants of large Towns and their vincinage in case of a Rupture with France, and you may easily guess what the consequence will be after the di(s)arming of 1798, for the people is far from being Reconciled as yet, so much for the News of our Country in plain truth—. Report says that Spain and America is a little Dissatisfied with each Other, but we hope that matters will be Amicably adjusted, as you are a Nation of Judgment & Freedom.

Dr. Children write us as often as convieny will permit, as is likely it will be the only way of correspondence by words that we will enjoy for Old Age and Infirmity is coming fast on occasioned by Hard Labour, on a dear spot of ground to Support a Large Family in Decency and genteel way of Life. Your Old Mother grieves much at the Dispensation of Providence about your Brother Steel Dickson, and ever since she imagined his Dissolution, she is much altered, and I believe by all appearances will not be long in the Land of the Living; but why should we grieve? as God is all sufficient: Dr. Children be careful in training up youth for on you it lies whether the Offspring of your bosom prove a blessing or a Curse—. Your Br. Robert is at Business with Br. John and is offering well, all enquiring friends and neighbours is well, your Sisters wishes to be Remembered to you both in a particular Manner &c so no more from your Affectionate Parents and sincere wellwishers.

JOHN & MARGARET DICKSON.

MINOR TOPICS.

Inasmuch as many Southerners are connected directly or remotely with matters mentioned in *The South-Carolina Gazette* of the 18th century, the editor of this *Magazine* has arranged for a succession of articles giving the contents of that paper. The one here given is the first installment. The old newspapers are the best interpreters we now have of the periods of history which they cover. *The South-Carolina Gazette* was the oldest, and for many years the only, newspaper in the Southern portion of the country.

CONTENTS OF THE SOUTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, 1732.

COMPILED BY A. S. SALLEY, JR., from the files in the Charleston Library Society and elsewhere.

Saturday, January 8, 1732 (Vol. I. No. 1).

Address of "Philo-Carolinensis" (the printer) "To the Reader." Under "Foreign Affairs" there are short paragraphs giving news from Warsaw, July 21; Madrid, July 24; Barith, July 31; Vienna, Aug. 1; Seville, Aug. 10; Hamburg, Aug. 28; Hague, Aug. 30; Paris, Sept. 2; Edinburgh, Aug. 2, 3, 5, and 9; London, Aug. 15, 17, 20, Sept. 8; Dublin, Aug. 7; New York, Oct. 4, Nov. 15; Philadelphia, Nov. 27.

Local News: Account of accidental burning of Brig. *Brittannia*, of R. I., at Elliott's Wharf, Charles Town.

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, deer skins and turpentine.

Custom House report of vessels entering in and clearing.

Two announcements by the printer ("T. Whitmarsh at the Sign of the Table-Clock on the Bay.") The printer advertises for sale the 7th edition of Isaac Watts's *Psalms o David, imitated in the language of the New Testament*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1732.

Long letter from "Agricola" on hemp planting. "Martia," aged sixteen, pays her respects to the "young Sparks" of the

community in a letter of nearly two columns. Foreign Affairs: Bologna, Parma, Amsterdam, Vienna, Cadiz, London.

Local: Account of the meeting the day before of the Assembly at the house of Col. Alexander Parris, Public Treasurer; mention of marriage of Johannah Broughton and Thomas Monck; account of a fire which destroyed Mr. Van Velsen's shop; mention of the death of a fisherman by apoplexy; mention made of vessels detained on the coast by contrary winds; notice of the placing of four buoys on the Bar at the expense of Mr. Eveleigh, merchant; facetious account of the marriage of an officer of the *Oldbrough* man-of-war to a widow in Charles Town.

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, skins, turpentine.

Custom House report.

W. Saxby advertises for a horse that had strayed or was stolen from a "Pasture up the Path."

The printer advertises. *Psalms of David* and *The Honour of the Gout* (by Philander Misiatrus); *A Dialogue between a Subscriber and a Non-subscriber*; a Leppo ink; almanacs for 1732, stationery, etc.

Announcement by the printer, "*T. Whitmarsh* at the House of Mr. *Hugh Evans*, Taylor, in Church-Street, within a few doors of the Secretary's office."

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1732.

"Rattle" replies humorously to "Martia" in three columns.

Foreign Affairs: Nearly three columns of extracts from the treaty concluded at Vienna July 22, 1731, between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain and the King of Spain; London news.

Local: Death of George Keith; marriage of Christiana Broughton and Rev. Mr. Dwight; arrival from England of Mrs. John Fenwick; rumor of several weddings "upon the Anvil"; "A Riddle" in verse sent by a "Fair Correspondent"; "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in London, to his Friend in Carolina" in regard to "making Insurance on Houses, &c. in Carolina"; suit by sailors, in Court of Admiralty, to recover wages; fire destroys barn at Pon Pon; report of design to form Insurance Company.

Prices current on rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, and corn.

Custom House report.

Letters signed "Anonymous" and "Juba" acknowledged as received too late for this issue.

Advertisement of a meeting of freeholders held at the House of Henry Gignilliat on the 18th when proposals were made for the opening of an "Insurance Office against Fire; which will be printed and given Gratis at the aforesaid House, on Monday in the afternoon, for the Perusal and Consideration of all Persons concerned: who are desired to meet at the same House, and on the same Occasion, on Thursday evening next."

Hugh Evans, Taylor, advertises for a "Cream colore'd Dog, between a Bull and Mastiff breed," that had been lost from his house on the 12th.

W. Saxby advertises again for his stray or stolen horse. The printer is back at the sign of the "Table-Clock."

JANUARY 29, 1732.

"Honestus" gives "the Publisher" his ideas of the advantages of a good reputation.

"Martia" sends a letter regretting that her first communication had been "misconstrued into particular personal Reflections."

"Publicola" advises the publisher to quit publishing so much nonsense "while we have, among us, Writers of Sense."

Foreign Affairs: Marseilles, Copenhagen, Madrid, London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Boston, New York, Philadelphia.

Local News: Notice of the placing of a new northward buoy in the place of the one placed by direction of Mr. Eveleigh that had been driven away by "a strong South-easterly Wind"; rumored that a committee appointed by the Commons House would regulate the fees of one of the public offices of the Province; notice of the arrival in town and introduction to the Governor, by John Herbert, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of six "Cherracquee Indians," J. Savy being their interpreter; notice of the looting by Spaniards and French off the Bahama Banks of the *Alice and Elizabeth*, John Pain, Master, Christopher French, mate, from Jamaica to Charles Town; account of the accidental killing of a resisting runaway

negro whom he was pursuing, by Charles Jones, who reported it to a justice "who ordered him to cut his Head off, fix it on a Pole, and set it up in a Cross-Road", which was done accordingly near Ashley Ferry; statistical report of the exports of rice, pitch, tar and turpentine from Charles Town between November 1, 1731 and January 28, 1732.

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine and Indian corn.

Custom House report.

Stephen Proctor advertises salt made by Mr. Mellichamp and lamp black for sale "at his store on Mr. Wragg's Bridge."

The printer again advertises the *Psalms of David, a Dialogue Between a Subscriber and a Non-Subscriber, The Honour of the Gout*, Leppo ink and stationery.

He also makes his announcement, by which we learn that his printing office was again in Church Street and that his paper was £3 a year.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1732.

"Agricola" contributes two columns on the silk worm.

Foreign Affairs: Paris, account of Count Maurice of Saxony and his pet ponies; Leghorn, Bilboa, Barcelona, London, Bath, Bristol, account of Suicide of Miss Bradock.

"Honestus" of St. John's Parish, contributes a column on the bad effects of idleness.

Account from Cambridge, Mass., of meeting of the overseers of Harvard College.

Local: Account of wreck of sloop *Dolphin*; account of operation on one Richard Evans, sailor on *H. M. S. Fox*, for dropsy, performed by Surgeon George Valentine of the same vessel; meteor visible at Charles Town.

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins and Indian corn.

Custom House report.

Benjamin Whitaker advertises sale of personal estate of John Godfrey, deceased.

Thomas Binford advertises for his debtors and creditors in view of his leaving the Province.

Thomas Bartram, on Charles Town Green, advertises "a very good Pennyworth, a good Billiard Table, with several pair of new and old Balls, On's, &c."

William Cattell, Jr., offers "Five Pounds Reward, and no Questions asked" for the return of saddlebags and contents stolen "from off the horse of Mr. Thomas Philips, between Charles Town and the Quarter house." Advertisement of a raffle of goods to take place at the house of Mrs. Surrow.

W. Pinckney advertises "fine Rhenish and Old Hock."

W. Saxby again advertises for his strayed or stolen horse.

The printer again advertises books and ink, and this week his paper is again printed "at the Sign of the Table-Clock on the Bay."

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1732.

"Agricola" completes his article on the silk worm.

"Lucretia" replies to "Honestus."

"Whisk" complains that the *Gazette* is too severe on innocent gaming, to which the editor appends a short reply.

Foreign Affairs: Leghorn, Stockholm, London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Boston, New York.

Local: Mention of receipt in Charles Town of a private letter from Lisbon giving account of the landing, by Sir Charles Wager, "agreeable to the engagements of the Crown of England," of six thousand Spaniards.

Report of penalties imposed by the Court of Vice-Admiralty of South Carolina against the master of a merchantman in Charles Town for harboring a seaman of one of the King's ships stationed at Charles Town.

Account of the investigation by the General Assembly of the mode of distributing the public lands of the Province.

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins and Indian corn.

Statistical report of rice, pitch, tar and turpentine exported between November 1, 1731, and February 4, 1732.

Custom House report.

James Pain advertises for a lost engraved silver "Snuff-Mill."

John Laurens, sadler, advertises for sale a house and plantation about six miles from Charles Town.

Francis Mongin, brazier, on the Bay advertises for a horse that had strayed or been stolen from the Green.

Mrs. Surrow renews her advertisement of her raffle.

Benj. Whitaker renews his advertisement for sale of Godfrey's personal effects.

Thomas Binford repeats his advertisements to debtors and creditors.

Bartram repeats his pool table advertisement.

Wm. Cattell, Jr., renews his reward.

Saxby's strayed or stolen horse advertisement is renewed.

The printer still has books and ink for sale, and his paper is still issued at the "Sign of Table-Clock on the Bay."

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1732.

A treatise on the "Manner of Chamoising, or of preparing Buffalo, Deer, Sheep, Goat, or Kid-Skins in Oil, in imitation of Chamois, popularly called Shaminy."

"Carolina Grubstreet" gives the printer over a column of his views on news. The printer replies in about a stick.

Foreign Affairs: St. Petersburg, Rome, London, Edinburgh.

Local: A genuine copy of the poem of "Secretus" is published, as a spurious one had been circulated about town; a correction of erroneous statements made the week before in regard to a trial in the Court of Vice-Admiralty; notice that the letter of "XZ" would appear the next week and the printer declines to publish one by "Frailty"; notice of hearing by the Governor and Council of the land grants matter; loss of boat and two negroes with a quantity of rice for town; Mr. Gough killed by a maniac; "Prattle" informed that his article would be published, but "Junius Brutus" is denied the use of the columns for his article.

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins and Indian corn.

Report of exports between November 1, 1731, and February 18, 1732.

Custom House report.

Isaac Mazyck, Jr., advertises a plantation of 5,550 acres of land on Santee.

Thomas Monck, merchant, in Charles Town, notifies his debtors and creditors to settle with George Austin, merchant, in Charles Town, as he is about to go to Great Britain.

William Dry, administrator of Rev. Mr. Ludlam, prohibits trespassing on the 300 acres of land on the east side of Coosaw

River, bounded by lands of Captain John Croft, Joseph Brian and George Pawley.

"The Commissioners appointed to issue out the Publick Orders for discharging the Debts of this Province" give notice that they will meet at the house of Col. Miles Brewton every Wednesday until March 28th next.

Edmond Atkin, intending to depart the Province, advertises for his debtors and creditors to call and settle.

John Fisher advertises for a runaway white servant named Caleb Lowle, a tailor, aged 18.

Advertisement of "the Beer Cellar, over against Mr. Elliott's Bridge on the Bay."

Bartram still advertises his pool table.

Binford continues his advertisement for debtors and creditors.

Likewise Whitaker his advertisement of Godfrey's estate.

Mr. Pain still seeks his "Snuff-Mill."

John Mortimer, of Christ Church Parish, advertises for a runaway "Pawpaw Negro Woman named Jenny, formerly belonging to the Estate of Mr. Giles Cooke."

The printer is still at the "Sign of the Table-Clock."

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1732.

"XZ" contributes three columns on the Sin of Slander. (Facetious.)

"Mary Meanwell," of Port Royal, writes a letter to "the Gentlemen News-Writers in Charles Town." Editorial note appended.

Foreign news.

Local: "Belinda" contributes a facetious poem; report that "Instructions from His Majesty will shortly be sent to the several Governors of the British Colonies in America, not to Assent to any Bill, for the future, for laying a Duty on the Import or Export of Negroes in their respective Governments."

Prices current of rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, and Indian corn.

Statistics of exports from Charles Town between November 1, 1731 and February 25, 1732, of rice, pitch, tar and turpentine.

Custom House reports.

Charles Hargrave, master of the ship *Dragon*, for Plymouth and Rotterdam, advertises that he will take freight and passengers.

The printer advertises for a lost silver knee buckle.

Charles Pinckney and Ed. Croft, executors of Hill Croft, deceased, advertise the personal estate of the deceased for sale at his late residence, "commonly call'd the Quarter-House."

Benjamin Whitaker calls upon all who are indebted to the estate of William Cheatham, deceased, to settle with John Champney.

John Wood, of St. Andrew's Parish, warns the public that his wife Mary has left him.

J. Townsend warns those who are indebted to him against making payments to any of his negroes or to any other person.

William Linthwaite offers a reward for a package of letters addressed to John Colleten, at Fairlawn, that had been taken from the shop of Mr. Clifford on the 11th.

Samuel Martyn, peruke-maker, about to leave the Province, directs his debtors to pay Stephen Proctor.

Saxby again advertises for his horse.

Thomas Monck, "merchant in Charleston," desires his debtors to settle with George Austin.

Isaac Mazyck, Jr., still desires to sell his plantation on Santee.

"The Commissioners appointed to issue out the Publick Orders," &c., again advertise a meeting at Col. Brewton's house.

Edward Atkins calls upon his debtors and creditors to settle.

John Fisher advertises again for Caleb Lowle.

The "Beer Cellar" repeats its advertisement.

John Mortimer still seeks his runaway Paw-paw negro woman.

T. Whitmarsh, printer, is still "at the Sign of the Table-Clock on the Bay."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ERRATA.—In the September, 1903, number of this *Magazine*, on page 117, line 50, "Walter" should be "Walton;" on page 92, line 33, "too" should be "the," and "1776" in bottom line should be "1786;" on page 118, line 5, "into other" should be erased; on page 130, line 2, "1500" should be "1560." In the May, 1903, number of this *Magazine*, on page 430, line 9, "and from" should be inserted after "Surry;" line 15, "Hennign's" should be "Henning's" and line 5 from the bottom, "Wesover" should be "Westover."

CAMPBELL.—I would like to communicate with some one who has information about the Campbell family, to which Mr. Justice John A. Campbell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, belonged. He was the son of Duncan G. Campbell, who came from North Carolina to Georgia. Who was his grandfather? Did his family come from Amherst County, Virginia?

LIBRARY OF U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—From the annual *Report* of the Secretary of the U. S. Department of Agriculture it is ascertained that the collection of books and pamphlets now in the Department Library numbers 80,000, and contains many books and periodicals found in few, if any, other libraries in the country. The Library has continued the publication of its quarterly bulletin of accessions. A reprint of the index cards for the Yearbooks and Farmers' Bulletins is in progress to meet demands from the smaller libraries of the country. Considerable assistance has been given to various institutions, agricultural colleges and experiment stations in reorganizing their libraries.

"GALVESTON'S GREAT SEA WALL" is the subject of an interesting illustrated article in the *Review of Reviews* for November.

ALABAMA'S CONTRIBUTION TO TEXAS.—In a memorial address on the life and character of the late Robert E. Burke, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, February 8, 1902, Hon. Dudley G. Wooten paid the following high tribute to Alabama's contribution to the settlement of Texas:

"He came to Texas as a young man from that State which has contributed more to the growth and greatness of Texas than all the other States of the American Union. Texas from the foundations of its civilization has been a composite production, a mosaic of heterogeneous elements. Out of a complex and almost incongruous mixture of various populations and contradictory influences she has evolved a homogeneous and vigorous citizenship, composed from all possible factors and combining all imaginable elements of strength; but it is a remarkable and significant fact that I may be permitted to mention here and now, that Texas owes more of her distinguished names at the bar, on the bench, in the forum, and in every walk of useful enterprise, to the State of Alabama than to any other one State in the Union."

HISTORICAL NEWS.

REUNIONS OF THE UNITED CONFEDERATE VETERANS.—The patriotic organization known as the "United Confederate Veterans," was projected and founded in New Orleans, La., June 10, 1889, ten camps being represented. Its object was "to unite in a general federation all Associations of Confederate Veterans, Soldiers and Sailors now in existence or hereafter to be formed." From this small beginning the organization has come to be a great power for patriotic good and usefulness. The following is a list of the several Reunions, with the camps for each year:

- 1st—Chattanooga, Tenn., July 3, 1890; 18 camps.
- 2d—Jackson, Miss., June 2, 1891; 26 camps.
- 3d—New Orleans, La., April 8, 9, 1892; 172 camps.
- No Reunion held in 1893 on account of financial crisis.
- 4th—Birmingham, Ala., April 25, 26, 1894; 500 camps.
- 5th—Houston, Tex., May 22, 23, 24, 1895; 650 camps.
- 6th—Richmond, Va., June 30, July 1, 2, 1896; 850 camps.
- 7th—Nashville, Tenn., June 22, 23, 24, 1897; 1,026 camps.
- 8th—Atlanta, Ga., July 20, 21, 22, 23, 1898; 1,155 camps.
- 9th—Charleston, S. C., May 10, 11, 12, 13, 1899; 1,209 camps.
- 10th—Louisville, Ky., May 30, 31, June 1, 2, 3, 1900; 1,277 camps.
- 11th—Memphis, Tenn., May 28, 29, 30, 1901; 1,358 camps.
- 12th—Dallas, Tex., May 22, 23, 24, 25, 1902; 1,454 camps.
- 13th—New Orleans, La., May 22, 23, 24, 25, 1903; 1,523 camps.

DEATH OF OLMSTED.—Frederick Law Olmsted died at Waverly, Mass., August 28, 1903, aged eighty-one years. He was a noted landscape architect and gardener, and, among other work, designed the landscape architecture of the capitol grounds at Washington. He was the author of several volumes, some of which deal with his observations on trips through the South prior to the Civil War.

LEE'S HEADQUARTERS AT SPOTTSYLVANIA MARKED.—On Saturday, August 22, 1903, a granite tablet was placed in position at Spottsylvania court house, in front of the historic hotel, to mark the headquarters of General Robert E. Lee in the battle of Spottsylvania and Bloody Angle during the War between the States. It is one of those tablets donated by Ryan of New York, for marking battlefields in this part of Virginia.

DAVIS MEMORIAL.—A Confederate Bazaar was held in Richmond, Va., April 15 to May 2, 1903, for the benefit of the Jefferson Davis Memorial and the Confederate Museum. The total receipts were \$23,442.09, and the expenses, \$1,428.71, making a net sum cleared of \$22,013.38. Of this amount \$15,000.00 was passed to the credit of the Memorial Fund, swelling it to \$63,000.00. The remainder was given to the Museum, which is located in the White House of the Confederacy at Richmond.

The issue of this *Magazine* for July, 1902, Vol. i, p. 50, contains some account of memorial to Jefferson Davis, which is to be in the form of a Memorial Arch.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "STATE OF FRANKLIN."—On August 22, 1903, in the old town of Jonesboro, in East Tennessee, was celebrated the 119th anniversary of the organization of the State of Franklin. This "State," which lives only in the history of the constructive efforts at government-making by American pioneers, embraced a part of East Tennessee and a part of Western North Carolina. Its capital was Jonesboro. The celebration brought together a large concourse of people, including many prominent men. On the program for speeches were Senator William B. Bate, Governor James B. Frazier, ex-Governor Robert L. Taylor, Judge O. P. Temple and Hon. John C. Allison.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE LOUISIANA TRANSFER.—The Louisiana Historical Society, Louisianians and other patriotic and interested lovers of history, will celebrate in New Orleans the centennial of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. The chief actors in the transfer were Laussat, the Prefect, for the French Government, and Gen. W. C. C. Claiborne and Gen. James Wilkinson for the United States. The following is the

"Programme of the Celebration in Honor of the Hundredth
Anniversary of the Transfer of Louisiana
From France to the United States
Adopted by the Louisiana
Historical Society

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 18TH

Reception and Ball given by the Ladies of the Louisiana Historical
Society

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19th

Commemorative Ceremonies at the Cabildo. Addresses by the Representatives of France, Spain and the United States. Military Parade. Review of Troops at the Cabildo. Opening of the Historical Museum. Striking of a Commemorative Medal. Naval Parade

SATURDAY NIGHT

Gala Performance at the French Opera House

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20TH

Grand Pontifical High Mass and Te Deum at the St Louis Cathedral
Oration in Honor of the Day, delivered from the balcony
of the Cabildo. Raising of the National
Flag in Jackson Square

RURAL SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN NORTH CAROLINA.—Contrasted with the princely donations of Andrew Carnegie as a stimulus to library-building in American cities, much attention is now directed to the development of the library as a rural institution. Clarence H. Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, Raleigh, N. C., contributes a valuable paper on the work of North Carolina in establishing rural libraries, to the *American Review of Reviews* for September, 1903. Libraries have been introduced in twenty-nine States, but Mr. Poe says that in no other State "has more rapid progress been made or greater results been accomplished in proportion to capital expended, than in North Carolina." The whole plan involves the principle of co-operation, the localities, the local school fund, and State aid combining in a triple effort to make up the funds for the purchase of books. It is shown that in North Carolina the experiment "has proved a strikingly successful innovation"—new libraries are constantly being applied for, old ones are enlarged, a taste for reading is cultivated in both children and parents, and life is made far more delightful in the country districts.

COLLECTION OF ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE.—"Gifts have been made to the now very large collection on the abolition movement in the United States by the Garrison family, Miss Weston and the Misses May. It is safe to assert that the library can show as strong collections, in print and in manuscript, on the anti-slavery movement as any other library in this country. The liberality of such leaders as Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, and of others like Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Messrs. Francis J. Garrison and Wendell P. Garrison, have really made this notable collection what it is—already large and still attracting gifts."—*Fiftieth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston*, 1902, p. 31.

BUREAU OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH.—The trustees of the Carnegie Institution have decided to establish at Washington a Bureau of Historical Research. After the first of October next, it is to be under the charge of Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin. The aims and purposes of the bureau are numerous; but it may be said briefly that it is established with the expectation that it will be of service to investigators of American history, especially to those desiring to make use of the archives at Washington. Professor McLaughlin is to continue as managing editor of the *Review*. After October 1 all communications to the *Review* should be addressed to the editor in care of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.—*The American Historical Review*, New York, July 1903, p. 813.

GUIDE TO FEDERAL ARCHIVES.—As representatives of the Carnegie Institution. Dr. C. H. Van Tyne and Mr. W. G. Leland are preparing a guide to the archives of the government of the United States at Washington. When the investigation is finished, the guide, it is expected, will be printed by the Carnegie Institution. Nothing more than a general description of the sundry collections of historical material and adminis-

trative records of the government will now be attempted. All collections of archives, not only those of the executive departments but also those of the judicial and legislative branches of the government will be described in at least broad and general terms and after personal inspection. In a few cases, where the documents are of especial interest, and where definite information can be given, a somewhat more detailed statement will be prepared. The study is intended to be only preliminary, but of such a character as to be of immediate value and of interest to investigators.—*The American Historical Review*, New York, July 1903, p. 821.

MADISON GAZETTE, THE SECOND NEWSPAPER PRINTED IN ALABAMA.—The copy of the *Madison Gazette*, preserved in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., mentioned in your *Magazine* for July 1903, p. 50 (vol. ii, No. 1) is the first and only copy of this paper of which I have been able to learn. A. B. Meek, in his *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, p. 103, says that it was the first paper published in the limits of the present Alabama. This statement is incorrect, the first newspaper ever issued in Alabama being the *Mobile Centinel*, printed at Fort Stoddert (near the present Mt. Vernon,) May 23, 1811. A brief mention of two copies of this paper will be found in your issue of July 1902, p. 56 (vol. i, No. 1.)

A brief description of the *Gazette* above noted will not be without interest. It is a four column folio, 11½ inches by 18½ inches in size. The type used is long primer and apparently much worn. It bears date Tuesday, October 19, 1813, Vol. ii, No. 73, showing that it had been published nearly one and a half years. No editor is named, but it was "printed" by T. G. Bradford & Co., at Huntsville, then in Mississippi Territory, now in Alabama. The following is its motto: "The Press is the Cradle of Science, The Nurse of Genius and the Shield of Liberty." The terms are \$3 per annum, to be paid half yearly in advance, or \$4 at the expiration of nine months. It contains four advertisements. With the exception of the prospectus, the whole of the first page is taken up with an address delivered by Rev. Mr. Craighead at Nashville, September 11, 1813. There are practically no local items.

THOMAS M. OWEN.

ROBERT SOMERS, AN ENGLISHMAN, who travelled through the Southern States in 1871-2 relates an interesting incident of Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States. Mr. Davis was then at the head of an Insurance Company called the Carolina. Somers says that Mr. Davis lived very quietly at the Peabody Hotel, in Memphis, Tenn., and was seldom seen or heard of in public, except when crowds of negroes would surround him on the street or at the landing stage on the river and make him the object of an oration. Somers thought that the great popularity of the distinguished Confederate among the negroes was hard to explain, and was of the opinion that in Abolitionist circles it would not readily be understood even if it could be explained to them. See Somers' *Southern States Since the War*, p. 264.

BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS.

NOTES.

John T. Bell has published, through the Whitaker & Ray Co., San Francisco, a small volume, entitled, *Civil War Stories* (1903), compiled from the Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies. It contains accounts of Libby prison, the capture of Jefferson Davis, besides many other interesting things.

Judge John C. West, of Waco, Texas, who was a member of Company E, Fourth Texas Regiment, C. S. A., has made a valuable contribution to Confederate literature in a small volume which he has published, entitled "*A Texan in Search of a Fight*." (12 mo. pp. 189; 50 cents.) The work consists of the diary and letters of the author, the former kept during the war, while the latter embrace a large number of letters written from the front. The narrative revealed by these pages is of the most thrilling interest. It throws many sidelights on the history of the war, and it cannot be read without an intensified appreciation of the character of the men who filled the ranks of the Confederate Army. It is dedicated to the women of the South.

The War Department has issued, through the Government Printing Office (1902; 8vo.; 2 Vols.), the *Correspondence relating to the War With Spain and Conditions growing Out of the Same, Including the Insurrection in the Philippine Islands*. The correspondence embraces communications between the adjutant-general of the army and the military commanders in the United States, Cuba, Porto Rica, China and the Philippine Islands, April 15, 1898 to July 30, 1902. In an appendix to Volume I. is given the organization of army corps and a brief history of the volunteer organizations in the service of the United States during the war with Spain.

The principal address on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument to the heroes of King's Mountain, at Guilford Battleground, North Carolina, July 4, 1903, was delivered by Mr. W. A. Henderson, of Knoxville, Tenn. His subject was "King's Mountain and Its Campaign." The address is not in the least degree notable, either as an oration or as an historical narrative. It is wanting in a loftiness of tone befitting the theme. It may have been impressive in the delivery, it is not so in the perusal. However, there are some points and observations which are well expressed, as, "Our people have been too prone to allow the glorious history of the Southern States to lapse into oblivion—and much of it has gone forever. By proper effort much can yet be saved, and I would that I could inspire some Carolina boy to learn his lessons of home history and print them to the world."

"The United Daughters of the Confederacy" is the title of an article, with sixteen beautiful illustrations, occupying four full pages in the October (1903) issue of the *Woman's Home Companion*. (Springfield, O.; 10 cents.)

In the *Political Science Quarterly* (New York) for September, 1903, will be found a study by Albert E. McKinley, entitled "Two New Southern Constitutions." The constitutions which form the basis of Mr. Mc-

Kinley's paper are those of Alabama and of Virginia, both of which were adopted in 1901. In the South, during the decade beginning with 1890, the counter-revolution against the Republican reconstruction measures of the sixties and early seventies took firm and decided form in constitutional revision. The order of State action is as follows: Mississippi, 1890; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1900; Maryland, Alabama and Virginia, 1901. Mr. McKinley has endeavored to give in his sketch a summary view of the principal features of the work of the conventions in the two States last named, a task he seems to have dispassionately accomplished.

In continuation of its series of subjects of timely and vital interest to the financial world, *The World's Work* (New York) for October, 1903, has "The South Becoming a Seaboard Gateway of the West." This article is one of the most comprehensive of recent reviews of Southern transportation, industrial, agricultural and shipping problems.

In the same issue of *The World's Work*, October, 1903, Edith A. Winship has an article of "The Human Legacy of Jonathan Edwards." The month of October witnessed the bi-centennial of the birth of this eminent preacher, theologian, metaphysician and educator. His descendants down to the present generation number more than fourteen hundred, including soldiers, public men, educators, doctors and ministers, the progenitor's characteristics being reproduced and maintaining a constant high level in successive generations. It is noted that in the list of governors descended from him no mention is made of Lewis Eliphalet Parsons, a grandson, born in Boone county, New York, who was Provisional Governor of Alabama in 1865. The gratuitous statement is made that Aaron Burr is the only "black sheep" of the family. In view of the revision of the position heretofore assumed by historians, Mr. Burr ought not to have been invidiously singled out for criticism.

In *The Sewanee Review* of July, 1903, Dr. John Bell Henneman, the editor, gives an admirable treatise on "The National Element in Southern Literature." In this article is shown the peculiar local element in the writings of authors in different sections of our country. The early writers were tinctured with English thought and culture. Benjamin Franklin was the first sturdy American to think from an American viewpoint; Irving presents Greater New York, the haunts of the Hudson Valley, and the Catskill Mountains; Cooper treats interior New York, and Hawthorne portrays New England Puritanism; Bryant reveals the poetry in American woods; Lanier sings of the cornfields, the marshes and streams of Georgia; Timrod pipes lyrics of Carolina; Mrs. Stowe, in "Old Town Folks," describes New England village life, while Aldrich, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Bret Harte, Mark Twain and Emerson, all have produced literature of local coloring. The emphasis of 1870 was marked by the death of John Pendleton Kennedy, William Gilmore Simms, Judge A. B. Longstreet and General Robert E. Lee. A broader American spirit was born of the centennial celebration in 1876 in Philadelphia. Many writers of note both in the North and in the South are named, with their literary productions, and the scope and influence of their writings are made to bear on the tendencies of literary thought and development. Dr. Henneman indicates the conditions which have checked, permitted and encouraged the development of Southern authorship. The writings of James Lane Allen, John Fox, Jr., Thomas Nelson Page, John Esten Cooke, Edgar Allan Poe, Miss Grace King, Mrs. M. E. M. Davis, George W. Cable and others, but slightly outline the intensive elements compressed into the article. There is the earnest plea for some one to crystallize in the novel the real

life of the American people, and thus give us a great masterpiece of literary genius embodying the earnestness and preciseness of New England, the warmth and chivalry of the South, the freedom and expansiveness of the West, the joy and tragedy of the souls in the life about us.

In the October issue of the same *Review* are, "The Real and the Ideal in History," by Frederick W. Moore, "Sidney Lanier's Lectures," by L. W. Payne, Jr., and "One Phase of Literary Conditions in the South," by Carl Holliday.

The September *Publications of the Southern History Association* contain, from Walter L. Fleming, of West Virginia University, the "Prescript of the Ku Klux Klan," which gives both the original Prescript of 1867 and the Revised and Amended Prescript of 1868. The matter given is from original sources, and is full of interest.

Perhaps the most entertaining, as well as instructive history about the part played by the Virginians, East Tennesseans and Western North Carolinians in the revolutionary war, ever issued from the press has been written by Colonel L. R. Summers, Abingdon, Va., entitled *A History of Southwestern Virginia* (1903.) When it is remembered that the class of people written and talked about in this history constituted the larger part of the army that engaged the British forces in the battle of King's Mountain, it will be seen that this book will be of paramount interest to a large number of people throughout the Southern States. Many years of study and research must have been given to this work by the author to have made it so full and accurate. There is scarcely a Daughter of the American Revolution or a person who had relatives in the great revolutionary conflict who will not find this work of much value to them. While the style of the book is pleasing, at the same time its great merit lies in the statistical and biographical information it contains.

REVIEWS.

THE ONE WOMAN. By Thomas Dixon, Jr., Doubleday, Page & Co., Publishers, New York, 1903, (8 vo. pp. 350.)

Mr. Dixon's book, though demagogic in tone, bears a message to right-thinking people; for the deeper evils of socialism teach a flamboyant contempt for the laws upholding society. And whoever casts away old beliefs for a blatant creed shouted by men of Gordon's stamp deliberately encourages the immorality begotten of a too easy dissolution of marriage.

A man of God, the Rev. Frank Gordon is "a divine without the least divinity." His lack of spirituality manifested itself in a passion for music and a fad for precious stones," as well as ability to appraise the beauty of Kate Ransom. "What a woman," he exclaimed aloud, as he drew on his coat. "The kind of woman who enraptures the senses, drugs the brain and conscience of the man who responds to her call—the woman about whom men have never been able to compromise, but have always killed one another!" A priestly rhapsody and fit prelude to the tragedy that follows his lawless passion for her. Through the nauseating details his wife remains loyal and devoted to him, yet she is sufficiently clear-sighted to see the trend of his enthusiasm for "Christian Democracy," and disapproves of the rank socialism it barely conceals. His friend Overman also denounces Gordon's "Brotherhood of Man and Solidarity of the Race." An elemental creation, worthy of the Russian fictionists, he is honest, hiding no impulse under the guise of modern

religiosity. His is the strongest character in the story, except that of Gordon's old father.

"The One Woman" has been too frequently reviewed to admit of synopsis. Suffice to say, it is convincing and sincere, and will be a timely reproof to the Kate Ransoms of real life.

A. B. L.

HISTORY OF LOUISIANA. By Charles Gayarre. F. F. Hansell & Bro., Ltd., Publishers, New Orleans, 1903, (4 Volumes 8 vo. pp. 2341.)

These volumes make accessible much of the rare historical treasures of Louisiana. The "Biography" of the author, written by Miss Grace King and "Contributions to the Bibliography of Gayarre's History of Louisiana" by William Beer, both embodied in Vol. I, add to their value. The public has been long expecting these volumes, and greets them with confidence. Volume I treats of "The French Domination" and is a compilation of two series of lectures. The first series bears title "The Poetry, or the Romance of the History of Louisiana." This in four lectures treats of the primitive state of the country, of De Soto, the Indians, Marquette and Joliet, of La Salle, of Iberville, Bienville, Crozat and others while the seat of authority was at Mobile and Biloxi. It is hardly possible to find from another author more inviting suggestions as to the sources and subjects of Louisiana history. The sea-fight of Iberville in the *Pelican* off the New England coast in 1687 against four British men-of-war, and the victory to the French vessel, is a high tribute to the faculty which can picture so vividly the changing scenes of history. The second series embraces in seven lectures "Louisiana, Its History as a French Colony," and brings down to 1743 when Bienville had been recalled to France and was succeeded in command by Marquis de Vaudreuil. The map of Louisiana by T. Lopez, 1763, is attached as a fourteen inch square folder to the last page of Volume I. Volume II continues the "History of Louisiana. Its History as a French Colony." This constitutes the third series of lectures, which in seven chapters gives the growth of French power, and the conditions militating against its permanency until Louisiana was ceded to Spain. The volume closes with an appendix containing the Harbor Master and Pilot's report of the effect of storms in changing the channel of the Mississippi river, with the Police Regulations, etc., and with Kitchen's six by eight inch map of Louisiana. Volume III treats of "Spanish Domination." In ten chapters it discusses the administrations of O'Reilly 1769-1770, Unzaga 1770-1776, Galvez 1777-1783, Miro 1784-1791, Carondelet 1792-1797, Gayoso 1797-1799, Don Calvo 1799-1801 and Salcedo 1801-1803. The close of the volume tells the cession back to France. The Spanish troops withdrew, and Governor W. C. C. Claiborne and General James Wilkinson received the transfer of the Louisiana Province from Laussat, the French Prefect acting by authority of his government. There is given Governor Claiborne's proclamation. There are also brief biographies of Aubert Dubayet, Viel, Audubon, the naturalist, Clouet, D'Aunoy, and Villamil. There is also a valuable appendix to this volume. Volume IV treats the "History of Louisiana under American Domination." In fourteen chapters it introduces the effects of the transfer to the United States, giving the feeling of the people and the general conditions of the country. The whole volume, except the last chapter, is devoted to the administration of Governor Claiborne, the debates and acts of Congress, and the train of events following. The last chapter tells briefly of a number of Governors who took charge after Claiborne's death. There is a good index to this volume which applies to all the volumes. There is a map of Louisiana as it exists today. Such is a brief outline of the contents of the several volumes. The reports of Indian massacres, of treachery among the colonists, of the sufferings and pleas-

ures, the high endeavor to work for King and mankind, and to contribute to the advancement of civilization in America, of men of genius and women of delicate culture and high patriotism, of the intrigues of Wilkinson and others, of the Acadians, of all that Louisiana meant for a hundred and fifteen years, are told in good form and with direct appropriateness. The print of the volumes is large, clear and easily read. A word of the author will close this review. Charles Gayarre was born in 1805 and died in 1895. He spent his boyhood in the plantation home of his grandfather, Etienne de Bore a few miles above New Orleans on the Mississippi river. He was educated in New Orleans, spent a good many years in Paris making special research into documents affecting Louisiana history, and there gained the material for use in his great work. He was elected to the United States Senate, but failing health forbade his assuming the high duties. He was for seven years Secretary of State. His father was a Spaniard. He met at his grandfather's the most distinguished men and women of the times. His contact with public office kept him ever in touch with history forces. He was by nature endowed with the peculiar temperament that fits one to write history. He wrote the History of Louisiana as no one else could write. The volumes are a monument to his genius and devotion to study, and they are essentials to the library of all students of Southern history.

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WILLIAM HARRIS CRAWFORD.

By A. L. HULL, of Athens, Georgia.

William Harris Crawford, of Georgia, entered public life a hundred years ago. He was tall, six feet, three inches in height, his eyes intensely blue, his hair dark, his complexion ruddy. He was of commanding presence, erect and well proportioned. His voice was clear, his step firm and his dress somewhat careless.

Such was William H. Crawford, a Virginian by birth, a Georgian from childhood. Born in 1772 his father removed to Columbia County, Georgia, in 1783, and there died. William was a lad during the Revolutionary War, and became enured to the hardships of those stirring times. Under the training of his good Scotch mother he grew to young manhood, working with his brothers on the plantation until he could teach a little country school. Then realizing his need for a better education he went to school to Dr. Moses Waddell, and afterwards became assistant in his academy. Here too went John C. Calhoun with whom he was afterwards so intimately associated and who became so bitter an enemy.

Mr. Crawford taught with Charles Tait in Richmond Academy in Augusta, and became the principal of that excellent school. Having prepared himself for the profession of law, he removed to Lexington, Georgia, and entered upon the practice in 1799.

His ability was soon recognized, and he quickly advanced to the head of the bar. With Horatio Marbury he compiled the first digest of Georgia laws. In 1803 he was sent to the Legislature,

where for four years he was one of the most prominent members of the House.

The politics of Northern Georgia was then dominated by a combination of land speculators more or less intimately connected with the Yazoo Fraud, for though that shameful act had been repealed and fire had been called from heaven to consume it, its baleful influences were felt for another decade yet in the strife for office in the State. These men, foreseeing the promise of this young lawyer's career, endeavored to attach him to their interests. He rejected all their overtures, and when they found they could not control him, they determined to kill him or to ruin him.

A certain Van Allen, a blustering roysterer who hailed from New York, and a cousin of Martin Van Buren, on some frivolous pretext was induced to challenge Mr. Crawford. Mr. Crawford accepted the challenge. The duel was fought in South Carolina just below the Savannah and Broad Rivers and Van Allen was killed.

In 1806 Gen. John Clark sent a memorial to the Legislature preferring charges against Charles Tait, then a judge of the superior court. Mr. Crawford espoused the defence of his old friend and co-preceptor, and in the somewhat protracted investigation of the case succeeded in completely vindicating his integrity. The odium of a malicious prosecution was cast upon Gen. Clark. That was the birth of a factional quarrel which swept the State, and whose fires were still smouldering a quarter of a century later.

Gen. Clark conceived an intense hatred for Mr. Crawford, and it was said that it was he who put Van Allen forward to fight him. When Van Allen was killed Clark himself challenged Crawford, and on the field so harrassed him and his second with petty contentions and quibbling objections that Crawford lost his temper and self control. As they stood to fire he exposed his left arm and Clark's ball went through his wrist. This advantage seemed however only to inflame the more the vindictive hatred of Clark, who renewed the challenge without a new offense, and ever thereafter let no opportunity escape to harass and thwart the purposes of his foe.

The Troup and Clark parties have formed a large part in the political history of Georgia. They existed first as the Crawford and

Clark parties. The name of Crawford gave place to that of Troup when the canvass for the executive office between George M. Troup and John Clark became so warm, and swept the State from the seaboard to the mountains. But there was no change of issues. Indeed there were no issues. It was a family row in which all the evil passions were fanned to hatred and the 11th commandment broken into fragments and scattered to the winds. The passions engendered by this factional war disrupted families, set brother against brother, and separated husbands and wives. It was the unreasoning surrender of all the better qualities of nature to personal prejudice and political passions. The bitter opposition of the Southern Democrats to the Northern Republicans in the darkest days of reconstruction did not exceed the antagonism of the Clark and Troup parties in Georgia.

As a rule the Virginians with their descendants, and the more cultured citizens of the State, belonged to the Troup party, while the settlers from North Carolina and the ante-bellum native Europeans followed the Clark banner. But there were many exceptions. For instance Chief Justice Jos. H. Lumpkin was an ardent Troup man while his brother, Gov. Wilson Lumpkin, was equally devoted to the Clark party.

Gen. John Clark, who fomented the strife, and for twenty years kept it alive, was a strong man. At fourteen years of age he was a soldier of the Revolution, and his youth was spent in the camps of his father, where, uncontrolled, he learned all that a boy ought not to know. He was a dashing soldier, and at sixteen was a lieutenant. He grew to manhood without any education, and ignorant of the refinements of life. He was a bully and a brawler. His courage was unquestioned. He stood squarely up to his friends, however degraded they were, and hated his enemies with a murderous hatred. There were no half-way measures with John Clark. Every man was either his friend or his enemy. Nothing was dishonorable which advanced the interests of one, and even assassination was justifiable which rid him of the other. Because he was illiterate he was no friend of the University of Georgia. When, in after years, as Governor, he attended one of the commencements of the University of Georgia, he met there his old enemy Wm. H. Crawford, who was an influential trustee and at that time Secretary

of the Treasury. When the procession was formed for the chapel, Dr. Waddell, the President, as was the custom and is now, took the Governor, and requested Mr. Crawford, his one time pupil and assistant, to walk on his right. The special honor done the man he hated so much in the presence of the assembled people made John Clark almost beside himself with rage.

Rev. Jesse Mercer, the oracle of the Baptists in his day, was a firm friend and partisan of Mr. Crawford. After the death of Gov. Rabun, also of the Crawford party, Gen. Clark was elected Governor. When the Legislature met Mr. Mercer was requested to preach the funeral sermon of Gov. Rabun. The Legislature marched in procession to the Baptist church with Gov. Clark at the head. Mr. Mercer took for his text, "When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice, but when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn." With great zeal he preached that when the Lord taketh away a good and righteous ruler he does it on account of the sins of the people, and He punishes them by putting a wicked ruler over them. The effect of the sermon on Gov. Clark may be imagined.

When the votes for Governor between Talbot, the candidate of the Clark party, and Troup were being counted, they ran so closely together that the excitement was intense, and when the final vote announced the election of Troup, Jesse Mercer, who was present, walked out, shouting "Glory! Glory!! Glory!!!"

It appeared that the professors and trustees of the University were all Troup men. The Clark parents complained that they sent their sons to college, and they returned home converted to the damnable heresies of the Troup party. A bill was introduced into the Legislature and passed providing for the addition of twelve Trustees to the Board, who should be Clark men, and so equalize the political complexion of the Board. The names of the new Trustees may be found in the catalogues dating from 1831.

Party feeling ran so high that if a man wanted office, or was drawn on a jury, or sought any favor, the first question asked was, "Is he for Troup or Clark?" Gov. Clark wrote a pamphlet entitled "A Legacy for My Children," giving his side of the many controversies of his time. It is now extinct, and no copies are known to exist.

In 1807 Mr. Crawford was elected to the U. S. Senate. His associates were Thos. H. Benton, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, James Monroe, William Lowndes, John Randolph—men than whom none stand higher on the role of Federal history, and William H. Crawford was the acknowledged peer of them all. Mr. Crawford had Jefferson's complete confidence. He was Madison's close advisor. He defended the principles of the Republican party as it was then called, insisting at all times on a strict construction of the Constitution. His manner of speech was direct and with no attempt at embellishment. He sought only to convince by irrefutable proof and with invincible logic. His plain, straightforward, earnest way, his exactness of details, his thorough knowledge of his subject, made the hearer feel that the man must be right because he knows he is right.

Though friendly to Mr. Madison, Mr. Crawford did not hesitate to criticise his messages to Congress, yet Mr. Madison nominated him for Minister to France in 1813. In the brilliant court of Napoleon Mr. Crawford's splendid self-poise stood him in need. Dr. Henry Jackson, once Professor of Physics in the University of Georgia, was his Secretary of Legation. Dr. Jackson said of his first reception by Napoleon that as Mr. Crawford advanced to the presentation, the Emperor was so struck with his firm steps, his lofty bearing, his tall, manly and imposing figure, decorated for the first time in whatever additional grandeur the splendors of the court dress of the Empire can throw around one of nature's noblest mould, the mild radiance of his clear blue eyes, and the undisturbed serenity of his eloquent countenance, that he avowed "that Mr. Crawford was the only man to whom he had ever felt constrained to bow, and that on that occasion he had involuntarily bowed twice as he received the Minister of the United States." The homage thus paid him by the Emperor was perhaps unprecedented at this court.

Mr. Crawford was in Paris when the Allied Armies entered in 1814, with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia at the head of 50,000 troops. He remained through the Hundred Days after Napoleon returned from Elba, which ended so disastrously with Waterloo. In these trying times when rulers were changing, and politics varied with each returning day, and the representatives

of other nations had fled, this distinguished Georgian, calm and serene, remained at his post admirably sustaining the doctrine that the United States should not become entangled with any foreign nation.

Returning to America in 1815 Mr. Crawford was made Secretary of War, and in the following year he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Monroe, which office he held during both terms of President Monroe. When Mr. Adams became President in 1825 he asked Mr. Crawford to continue in the office but the appointment was declined. There is perhaps no other instance of one man being tendered a cabinet office continuously under three administrations.

The new Secretary proved to be a master of finance. He was familiar with all the economic conditions of the day, and his conduct of the Treasury was not surpassed by Hamilton or Gallatin or Dallas. For years afterwards his successors in office quoted his decisions as authority for their own, and his official acts were submitted as precedents equal to judicial determinations.

Nathaniel Macon, who knew him intimately, and for whom one of Mr. Crawford's sons was named, when asked who of the great men he had known, excelled in strength of mind and vigor of speech, said he had been on familiar terms with Washington, Jefferson and Madison, and with the members of their cabinets, but for vigor of intellect and power of forcible presentation to the mind, he was compelled to say that William H. Crawford was the greatest man he ever saw.

It was but natural that Mr. Crawford, in the zenith of his power in 1824, should be regarded as a suitable person to fill the Executive chair. A caucus of the members of the Republican party in Congress nominated him for President. The campaign developed other candidates, among whom was Mr. Calhoun. A bitter enmity between these two distinguished Southerners sprang up. Both being from the same section, each was in the other's way, and methods were employed to defeat each which I suspect did not differ greatly from those of more recent times. The electoral college met and elected Mr. Calhoun Vice President, but failed of an election as between Mr. Crawford, Mr. Clay, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. The election therefore was thrown into the

House of Representatives which, voting by States, gave the majority to Mr. Adams.

It was during this canvass, which became exceedingly bitter, that Mr. Crawford was stricken with paralysis, and he had not recovered when the election was held. In the opinion of many familiar with the conditions at the time, Mr. Crawford would have been President had not this misfortune befallen him. He never entirely recovered from the stroke. His utterance was imperfect for a long time, although his mind recovered its equilibrium.

Thomas H. Benton, in his "Thirty Years in Congress," pays this tribute to Mr. Crawford:

"He was among the few men of fame that having the reputation of a great man become greater as he was more closely examined. There was everything about him to impress the beholder grandly; in stature a head and shoulders above the common race of men; justly proportioned, with open countenance and manly features, ready conversation, frank and cordial manners. He was in the Monroe cabinet when the array of eminent men was thick; when the historic names of the expiring generation were still on the public theatre, and he seemed to compare favorably with the foremost. For a long time he was deferred to generally by public opinion as the first of the new men who were to become President.

"Had his election come one term sooner he would have been the selected man. He was formidable to all the candidates and all combined against him. He was pulled down in 1824, but at an age with an energy, a will, a talent and a force of character which would have brought him up again had not a foe more potent than political combinations fallen upon him. At the return from Elba he was the sole foreign representative remaining in Paris. Personating the neutrality of his country with decorum and firmness he succeeded in commanding the respect of all, giving offence to none."

In 1827 Gov. Troup appointed Mr. Crawford Judge of the Superior Court of the Northern Circuit and the Legislature elected him for two full terms. He sustained himself in this position with unexceptionable ability. At the time there was no Supreme Court, but the Judges of the Superior Court met in convention to consult

in an advisory capacity. Mr. Crawford was the chairman of this court, and presided over it for seven years.

Mr. Crawford never forgot the antagonism of party strife and never spared the Clark party. A witness in a case before him had not sustained himself very creditably and at dinner some one mentioned that he was a Clark man. "I thought so," said the Judge. There were two Clark men present at the table and Judge Young said persuasively, "But there were some very good and clever men in the Clark party." "Mighty few, mighty few, mighty few," said Mr. Crawford.

He was stoical in his indifference to danger. He fought Van Allen with an old pair of borrowed pistols which he had never tried until the morning of the duel, and then they snapped twice before firing. He would speak of that fatal meeting with as much indifference as if some one else had done the killing. Thirty years afterwards Judge Dawson remarked that he had seen Van Allen a few days before. "I reckon not," said Mr. Crawford. "But I did," said Dawson, "I knew him well." "Don't care how well you knew him, I know you didn't see him." "Why," said Dawson, "I met him in the Lexington road, got out of my sulky and talked with him." "I don't care, Mr. Dawson, if you did get out of your sulky on the Lexington road, Van Allen wasn't there, for he has been dead these thirty years." "Why, who did I say? I meant Beverly Allen." "You may have seen Beverly Allen, but I know you didn't see Van Allen."

Yet Mr. Crawford was a man tender hearted, easily moved to tears of sympathy, and was a loving husband and an indulgent father. He was extremely social, and told an anecdote well. He cared not a fig for artificial dignity, and his manners, though kind, would at the present day be called rude.

He married Miss Gerdine, a sister of the *old* Dr. Gerdine, and a great-aunt of our fellow-citizen, Dr. John Gerdine. His long career in public office interrupted his practice of the law, but he himself said that he had never brought a case in which he did not gain a verdict.

In 1833 Mr. Crawford's health was in ruins. His noble form, palsied and unsteady, towered above other men as some old feudal castle shattered by storms towers above the dwellings around its

base. While on his way to court in Elbert County he was taken suddenly ill, probably with a second stroke of apoplexy, and died on September 15, 1834, in the 63rd year of his age. And so passed away one of the greatest of Georgians, a man of colossal stature, of massive intellect, a cogent speaker, a luminous writer, a statesman and a gentleman.

THE EARLY MISSIONS OF THE SOUTH.

(FLORIDA, ALABAMA, LOUISIANA.)

By ANNE BOZEMAN LYON, of Mobile.

ALABAMA.

More than three hundred years ago the banners of Spain flashed through the forests of the domain that was later a possession of Louis XIV. Two pictures are boldly thrown against the background of giant trees. The first is painted after the massacre of Mauvilla in 1540, during De Soto's march from Florida to the Mississippi. It is most soothing to the too-acute recollection of the cruel Hernando. Very distinct it is—a priest, Fray Juan de Gallegos, saying prayers before a rustic altar. Clad in rich vestments of tawny furs, and surrounded by men of fashion, daring, unscrupulous and irreligious, the father had a strong foil to his piety in that wild land. De Soto himself, bending low his haughty head in humble supplication to the Mother of God, stands near the spot consecrated by Gallegos into the holiness of a stately sanctuary.

More solemn, perhaps, than the first, the second picture of 1542 is a trackless wilderness stretching along the western bank of the Mississippi. Indians are there crowding about De Soto, imploring him to send rain upon their maize, and heal their blind. With only the assurance that they were sinners the Spaniard, who was himself so full of sinful rapacity, ordered a pine tree felled and a cross made. The resinous branches were hewn from the bronze-hued trunk, and a cross was soon fashioned; it towered above the expectant savages, a prophecy of its future power in the New World. A procession led by the priest, whose name is unknown, moved toward it; when it was reached, the devotees knelt, and after prayers each kissed it reverently. The Indians, awed and impressed, joined in the devotions, and then returned to camp with the train of monks and soldiers, who passed slowly onward chanting the *Te Deum*.

Of the ten missionaries sent to the Spanish Settlements by St. Francis Borgia, in 1568, were two whose names must always be

sacred to Mobile, although the place was nothing but an Indian village. From "lordly Toledo" they came—those two learned men—Fray Dominic and Fray Juan Baptist de Segura, to labor and teach among the Indians.

Fray de Segura attended the Spanish posts, after proclaiming the Jubilee in St. Augustine. From that time on there was no cessation in his work. Whether baptizing the natives at St. Helena, South Carolina, with the assistance of Fathers Sedeno, Alamo, and Brother Villereal, or traveling from port to port, Fray Segura seems never to have flagged. Finally, he was ordered in company with Fray Dominic to Mobile, or Mauvilla. Pedro Menendez, with a strong desire to insure their safety, sent a body of Spanish soldiers to escort the priests thither.

They remained at the Indian Settlement during a year full of terrible discouragement and adversity, for they had to preach in chapels as primitive and unadorned as the cells of the Thebaid hermits. Then they journeyed back to Florida, where they resumed the former routine of their toilsome, saintly lives. Nothing more is said of Fray Dominic than this—"he returned to the Spanish Missions in and about St. Augustine." There amid gentle, scholarly men he passed a tranquil, prayerful life. For Fray Segura, his martyrdom by Don Luis de Velasco and his treacherous followers forms a long chapter in the old Mission chronicles.

A period of spiritual darkness obtained in the land of the Mobilians until the *fleur de lis*, the proud Bourbon emblem, sprang from Fort Louis de la Louisiane, or Mobile as it is generally called, at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff, on the Mobile River. So from the lilies of France glowed such light as can only fall from Heaven upon a heathen world. In its clear intensity Père du Ru is revealed, shadow-like, beside the positive individuality of Iberville and Bienville. There is such incertitude concerning the priests, during the occupancy of the old Fort, that Père du Ru is almost the first who is mentioned personally. While there is briefest reference to him, he is nearly always associated with Père Davion and Père Montigny; the three seem to draw near each other whenever mention is made of the Lemoyne brothers.

Three priests, François Joliett de Montigny, Anthony Davion, and Jean François Buisson de St. Cosmé, were sent by Bishop St.

Vallier, from the Seminary of Quebec, in 1698, to establish new missions in the Mississippi Valley. The cost of this enterprise, exceeding ten thousand livres, was borne by Père Davion and Père Montigny. The Chevalier de Tonti, ever disdainful of fatigue, guided them to the Tamarois Indians, where a short visit was made. Sailing down the Mississippi to the Arkansas, Tonicas and Taensas villages, the Canadians left with each the sign of their faith.

Père Montigny remained with the Taensas, but afterward went to the Sun-worshipping Natchez. Père Davion erected his house and tiny chapel among the Tonica Indians, though he subsequently included the Oemspik and Yazoo tribes in his work. Père de St. Cosmé returned northward to found a mission at Tamarois. Weakened by fevers, and constantly busy, the two former had sufficient thought to go to Biloxi in 1699, to cheer the desolation of Sauvolle awaiting his brother Iberville's return from France.

The following year the Seminary commissioned by Père Bergier, Père Bouteville and Monsieur de St. Cosmé, a young brother of the Tamarois missionary, to go to the Mississippi Mission. They stopped at Tamarois long enough for the elder de St. Cosmé to join them, and then sailed to Natchez.

The Jesuits, who had objected to the establishment of a mission where they had already made converts, now received the present missionaries of Bishop St Vallier with much hospitality. Yet they evinced displeasure at the coming of a different order into tribes over whom they had gained influence. Their cold disapprobation was so apparent that Père Montigny, in discouragement and wounded feeling, returned to France, in 1700, with Iberville, hoping that the misunderstanding could be amicably arranged. After his departure Père Bergier was made "Superior of the Secular Missionaries in the Mississippi Valley, with Tamarois as his residency." But Père Montigny did not come again to his Taensas Mission, though the Indians yearned for his return. He traveled to the East; the memory of the injustice meted to him in the mother country was ameliorated by his successful work among the Mohammedans. Iberville himself was disappointed when he sailed from America without the descendant of the standard-bearer, Galon de Montigny, but he had consolation in the thought that

the homeward voyage was brightened by the presence of the Jesuit, Père du Ru. Living first at Biloxi, Père du Ru hastened to Mobile when that Fort was established in 1722.

Père Nicholas Foucault, old and feeble as he was, had a longing to preach among the French *chevaliers* at Mobile. Those debonair gentlemen always appealed to the clergy who constantly regarded them as needful of priestly guidance. With one servant, two Frenchmen and two Coroa Indians to lead them through the forest, the venerable priest set out on that long journey whose end was death. He and his French companions were cruelly murdered by the guides. Père Davion, on one of his endless errands of mercy up the Mississippi, discovered the mutilated bodies and buried them. The debonair gentlemen at Fort Louis waited in vain for Père Foucault. When they heard of his murder, careless as they were, they reverently said a prayer for his soul, while out in the wilderness over his grave "a thousand birds sang a requiem Mass." True there is much doubt regarding the spot containing the remains of this first martyr of the Seminary of Quebec. Wherever it is in the limitless wooded reaches of the Mississippi Valley, it is holy ground.

The year 1703 was an eventful one in the history of the Catholic Church in the region that was to be Alabama, for Bishop St. Vallier, desiring to erect Mobile into a parish, proposed his plan to the Seminary at Quebec. Agreements were made to supply clergy, and on the 20th of July, 1703, the new parish was annexed to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris and Quebec. Père Henri Roulleaux de la Vente was made parish priest and Père Alexandre Huvé his curate. Some time had to elapse before they could take charge of their work, therefore, Père Davion came from his Tonicas and Yazooos to officiate in de la Vente's place until the latter could reach Mobile.

There is good cause to think Bienville and Boisbriant regretted the coming of de la Vente, as both had grown careless of their church duties. Communion and confession were neglected by the two cousins; they perhaps found it difficult to compose their minds to either holy duty when they were so beset by temporal trials. Bienville was in no humor to endure the rigorous rule of his recently elected spiritual adviser; for the constant recrimi-

nation with la Salle, the commissary of the French crown, had goaded him into intolerance, especially as the latter rejoiced that de la Vente was to be sent to them. The gentle, saint-like guidance of Père Davion being more to Bienville's liking, it was with ill-concealed displeasure that the commanders of the Fort, except de la Salle, awaited the arrival of the new curé.

Bienville, Chateaugué and Boisbrant were present when Père Davion baptized "*une petite femme Apalache.*" The good father was deeply beloved by every one, and so important an event demanded the presence of *Monsieur le Gouverneur* and his relatives. In velvet, decked with gold, fit attire for a *gentil-homme*, they made a striking group, those three, and were looked upon with envious eyes by Canadian boatmen and soldiers, as they knelt in the plain edifice with their plumed hats beside them on the rough floor. The sun, surging in golden waves through the open, heavy shuttered windows, caused the metallic garniture of Bienville's rich dress to glitter like a tracery of flame. It touched with fire the hilt of his sword, and, swaying up to the altar steps, glorified the pale worn face of Père Davion into greater saintliness. Swathing the slender form of the little Apalache girl in splendor, it seemed to Bienville and his friends, that Heaven had shed its purest rays upon the silver-haired priest and his convert. She stood, scarcely comprehending the solemn rite, between her sponsors with bowed head and trembling lips.

Then—it was over. The Indian maiden returned to her people, a Christian, a creature with a purified soul. *Monsieur le Gouverneur*, with his cousin, Major Boisbriant and his brother Chateaugué, sauntered to their dwelling in earnest talk; the Canadian boatmen and rough soldiers clattered down to the river to sit and jest, and watch for any sail that might appear, a gold-drenched blotch, in the sun-mist low on the water; Père Davion and the Jesuit, Père Dongè, with thankful hearts for the spirit reclaimed from pagan darkness, paced slowly to the "new parochial residence."

Père Davion, wishing the parish priest to find a suitable abode upon his arrival, had made strenuous efforts to build a church and house for him. He was successful, inasmuch as when Père de la Vente arrived in Mobile he did have a house on which nothing

had been paid, and which was still without windows or doors. Père Dongé had, however, generously loaned seven hundred livres with which to complete it. Père de la Vente was then "formally inducted into his parish," as appears by the following entry in the ancient parochial "Register of the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Mobile."

"I, the undersigned, priest and Missionary Apostolic, attest to all whom it may concern, that in the year of our salvation, 1704, on the 28th of the month of September, by virtue of letters of provision and collation granted and sealed on the 20th of July of last year, by which *Monseigneur*, the most high and Reverend Bishop of Quebec, erects a parish church in the place called Fort Louis de la Louisiane, and the cure and care of which he gives to Monsieur Henri Roulleaux de la Vente, Missionary Apostolic of the diocese of Bayeux. I have placed the said priest in actual and temporal possession of the parish church, and of all the rights thereto belonging, after observing the accustomed and requisite ceremonies, namely: the entry into the church, the sprinkling of holy water, the kissing of the high altar, the touching of the vessel, the visit to the blessed Sacrament of the altar, the ringing of the bells, which taking possession I attest that no one opposed.

"Given in the parish church of Fort Louis, the day of the month and year aforesaid, in the presence of Jean Baptiste de Bienville, lieutenant of the King, and commander of the said Fort; of Pierre du Quay de Boisbriant, major; Nicholas de la Salle, scribe and acting commissary of the Marine.

"Davion, Bienville, Boisbriant, De la Salle."

So, in the little new church they scrawled their names in attestation of the due installation of the new priest, whose coming had been so dreaded. Père Dongé's signature was not affixed, as he had already sailed for France on the return voyage of the *Pelican*.

Père Davion now left Mobile to go to his Yazoo and Tonicas, who had needed him sorely during his absence; then Père de la Vente began with heartfelt energy to minister to his flock.

But the derelictions of Bienville, Chateaugué and Boisbrant were offensive to him and he became incensed against them. He made no allowance for existing conditions and bitterly denounced

their conduct. Iberville, too, when he was at the Fort, fell under the ban of the priest's displeasure. De la Salle encouraged him in his accusations against the brothers.

Thus, bickering sadly marred the first years of Père de la Vente's residence in Mobile. Indeed, there seems to have been nothing pleasant in his life at that time, except the visit of Very Reverend Monsieur Bergier, V. G., in 1706. The latter was journeying southward from his Tamarois Mission when he was apprised of the fate of Père Jean Francois Buisson de St. Cosmé, who had left Natchez to visit Mobile, and was attacked and killed by the Sitimaches Indians, fifty miles from the Mississippi. A native of Canada, he was the first American priest to be martyred in this country, yet his terrible death was a fitting crown to a life of toil and endurance. Although the Vicar-General brought a heavy heart to Mobile, his presence amid the turbulence and profligacy of the place was a pure pleasure to Père de la Vente who esteemed it an honor to entertain so exalted a man. They never saw each other after that brief visit, for *Monseigneur* died soon after he reached his Tamarois Mission.

The vexations that beset de la Vente sorely fretted him, and with good reason, for it is said that *Monsieur le Gouverneur* actually withheld the salary of the clergy. That he was guiltless is evident, since without his sanction the more commodious house erected for the parish priest in 1707 could not have been built. If this base charge is true, then Père de la Vente was amply avenged, when on the 13th of July, 1707, Bienville was dismissed from his high office, and De Muys appointed Governor in his stead. La Salle, who had achieved this climax through his malice, had no opportunity to exult over the mortification of the deposed Governor, as he also was stripped of his authority in the colony. De Muys, however, died in Havana, and the colonists, even those opposed to Bienville, anxiously sought his restoration to office.

Bienville's trials should have curbed his youthful intolerance of Père de la Vente; but like all high-spirited natures the lesson of patient endurance was a difficult one to learn. Forgetful of the recent injustice done to him, he sought to install Père Gravier, as parish priest, when that ecclesiastic came from France in 1708. Bienville upheld his favorite for many months, and was loath to

receive the command from France "to restore the church to the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions." Although Père Gravier may have assumed the duties of the rightful pastor, there is no mention of such self-imposed work in the Register of Mobile. Yet, de la Vente, tired of his onerous charge, which seemed fruitless of nothing save discontent, returned to France ill in spirit and body. Some historians say this was in 1710, although Judge Gayarré distinctly relates that de la Vente was in Mobile during, and after, Lamothe Cadillac's governorship, which, beginning in 1713, did not cease until 1715.

After the massacre of Ayubale, in Florida, on January 25th, 1704, the Mission of Ybitacucho was deserted, though the broken-spirited Apalaches did not endeavor to remain there, but, hopeless and discouraged, they sorrowfully sought the protection of the French at Mobile near the latter part of the year 1705. Ten miles above the Fort they made their settlement. Being Christians, they hastened to build a chapel, a simple home for any priest that might be sent to them. With sacred memories of the Spanish Fathers, who had died for them in Florida, they awaited the arrival of a missionary. When he did come in the person of Père Alexandre Huvé, the curé of Mobile, their disappointment was pitiable; he had no facility in learning the Indian language. Unable to instruct this people, he was compelled to relinquish his mission and return to more congenial labors.

It is very apparent that Père Huvé's environment in and about Mobile was never such that he could felicitate himself upon his stay in America. Even in the costly church down on Dauphin Island, erected in 1709, by La Vigne Voisin, there was no happiness for him. Close to the water it was built, where the rolling waves dashed their spray upon its dark front. The booming of the surf blended with the melodious tones of the mellow bell that, sounding far over the Gulf, carried repose to the hearts of restless sailors eager for a sight of the cross gleaming on the tower.

One day there came into port a vessel whose crew had no thought of solemn prayer said at vesper-time in the purple salt-scented dusk, for the freebooting English captain swooped down on the settlement to desecrate the holy edifice. As their country-

men had done in Florida, so they did now. Père Huvé, robbed of all he possessed, and nearly killed, was obliged to flee to Mobile.

After a time of necessary idleness he gathered sufficient strength to go to the Mississippi on one of the numerous explorations of the French. He soon wearied of the levity of his people and endeavored to establish a mission among the Indians. Ill and worn he bravely tried to win those errant, savage souls to God; but he succumbed to adverse fate and went home to France. He must have returned to Mobile to embark for Europe, as his name is the last of the Secular clergy in the old Mission Register.

Again there was a period of rejoicing for the gay, careless French gentlemen at Fort Louis when Père Davion came back to them. Driven from his Tonicas by marauding Indians, he stopped in Mobile with the intention of sailing for France, but seeing the need of his presence in the poverty-stricken colony, he remained with the impulsive, generous adventurers several years. Although Père le Maire was chaplain, Père Davion had no lack of duties. We think of him rebuking, with gentle gravity, the carping spirit Bienville had evinced toward Père de la Vente, or looking into the matter of finances and all the thousand affairs gone wrong in Mobile. Then too, there is the memory of him solacing the grieved souls of the Apalaches; they had been forced to leave their peaceful village by their old enemies, the Alibamons.

Possibly the little maiden whom he baptized that glowing September day, came to him now for comfort. She doubtless left him with her heart gladdened by the assurance that he would give to her people more land to sow in maize. And he did provide for the confiding, simple folk, for he bestowed upon them land about a league above the new Mobile. Again, what staunch support was Père Davion for Bienville to rely upon when the Fort was changed to the spot down on the mouth of Mobile River in 1711. The new Fort was rebuilt by L'Epinaï, in 1717, and renamed for Condé, the hero of the *Fronde*. Just how long Père Davion stayed in Mobile there is no certain statement. When he left America for France, in 1725, grief for his departure was deep and sincere throughout Louisiana.

Rev. Dominic Mary Varlet came to Mobile in 1717 as Vicar-General. He was a most learned man, and the Mississippi Missions

were given into his charge. Although he was connected with Mobile for some years, his name but seldom appears on the Register. A man of stately presence his portrait shows him to be, with masses of thick, rich hair curling around his face; a smile lurks in his eyes, while his mouth is grave and brow nobly thoughtful.

Père Jean Mathieu inscribed his name on the records for the first time on the 18th of January, 1721, as parish priest at Fort Condé. He came from France to Mobile, and having no personal relation with the Bishop of Quebec, it is more than probable he was that Norman Capuchin who applied to Rome "for special powers for fifty missions." His request being granted, Père Mathieu accepted the papal briefs with so wide a margin, that a year later, he boldly wrote himself in the Mobile Register from January 9th, 1722, to March 14th, 1723: "Jean Mathieu—Vicar-Apostolic and Parish Priest."

His labor was chiefly on Dauphin Island. It may be that he preached in the beautiful church built by La Vigne Voisin, the sanctuary which had failed to shelter the Curé Huvé from the English freebooters, and which Père Mathieu would not have hesitated to convert into a stronghold against any practical invasion. Of a certainty he would have protected himself from an enemy, in whatever shape he might have appeared, since he so arrogantly disclaimed the authority of the Bishop of Quebec. But, however much his assumption of honors that were not his was condemned, his pastoral duties were faithfully and zealously discharged.

The Mission District between the Mississippi river and Rio Perdido was given in 1722 to the Discalced Carmelites, with their principal station at Mobile. Great as this trust was, they evinced little interest in it, though Père Charles did go to the Apalaches near Mobile. Of his success nothing is told, and it is inferred that he gave but half-hearted energy to his cure, since the Bishop of Quebec, displeased at the Carmelites' lack of zeal, bestowed their missions upon the Capuchins.

Time went on, bringing no prosperity to the Mobile colony. Some new churches were built—not many it is feared, as the population had decreased to only sixty families. The Capuchins still remained in control of religious affairs in Louisiana; Père Mathias

was parish priest in Mobile, and Père Victorin Dupui, a Recollect, was curé of the Apalaches from 1718 to 1725.

New Orleans was now a large Settlement, and the lilies of France faded and drooped in Fort Condé. With them slowly died the influence of the French priests. Naturally the larger colony absorbed the attention of church and state in the mother country; nevertheless, Bienville must always have cherished a deep affection for the place he founded in the full, rich years of his splendid young manhood. And until his final departure from America, in 1743, he strove to keep Mobile under constant ecclesiastical control.

The mission feebly endeavored to live under the English and Spanish rule. But priests came only at long intervals to Mobile, whose people suffered for religious ministrations.

The last French priest was Père Ferdinand, the Capuchin, from Acadia. He was in the colony when the English took possession. How reluctantly the words are written; for they reveal the pain and sorrow that those few inhabitants sought to hide from their oppressors. It is true Père Paul did come with his great, kind soul to reclaim some negroes, as Père Davion had reclaimed the little Apalache girl, from heathenish worship. Then for years there was no account of imposing services until one Padre Salvador de Esperanza celebrated Mass in the Church of the Immaculate Conception to which the Spaniards had changed the name from *Notre Dame de la Mobile* which the French gave it upon their removal from Fort Louis at Twenty-Seven Mile Bluff. Later, the Spanish Capuchins took profound interest in their new possessions, and toiled with much earnestness for the Church of Mobile.

The two last Spanish priests were Vicente Genin and Père Angelina, as his flock loved to call him. The former disappeared a few years after the United States added the old town to her treasures in 1813. Of Père Angelina whence he came is not said. From 1822 to 1829 he dwelt in Mobile; a good, just, tender man, not brilliant intellectually, so one of his parishioners told the writer in 1894, yet thoroughly unselfish and religious. He was rector of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, a tiny wooden structure down on Royal street near Conti. Crudely outlined on the city maps it might have been modeled after that chapel Père Davion erected for the first priest of Mobile; a sorry place for the beloved

pastor, as his people were rich and could have built a handsome church.

Tall, dark and serene he went about his parochial duties, a striking embodiment of the mediaeval influences of the Spanish monastery from whence he came. His home was also on Conti street, in a curious old house shaded by thick-foliaged trees.

When Père Michael Portier arrived from New Orleans and was made Vicar-Apostolic of Alabama and Florida, he found Père Angelina. In 1829, after Portier was created Bishop of Mobile, Père Angelina ceased to attract attention. In an interview with one of his parishioners, 1894, no accurate knowledge of the Curé's death was gained. But she spoke of him with tears, and when asked where he was buried, murmured that she had forgotten. Slight wonder, she was herself so old. Perhaps, if one searches carefully, his tomb may be found in the "Old Graveyard" among those that pathetically recount the virtues of men and women to whom the French régime was a holy thing.

Of Bishop Portier, his best epitaph is everlastingly recorded in the superb Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception—a source of pride to Protestants as well as Catholics in Mobile. Indeed no statelier monument could have been reared to the high-bred, cultured gentleman, than the edifice bearing the name of that first "parish church," built so long ago by Père Davion.*

*A closer examination of the Mobile Register shows that, in 1723, Brother Claude, a Capuchin, was in Mobile, and in 1725 Father Beaubois, a Jesuit, took the place of Brother Claude for a short time. Then, the Capuchin, Mathias de Fidau, from New Orleans, whose office the Recollect Victorin Dupui filled in 1730, Pierre Vitry, 1732, S. J., and Pétit of the same order another time. In 1734 began the ministrations of Jean Francois, a Capuchin, in whose absence Guillaume Morand, S. J., served. Twelve months, and Mathias, Vicar-General, Prosper and Félix write their names on the Register. The latter held the post from December, 1737, to the following March. Brother Agnan succeeded him in April. His short incumbency ended when Brother Amand, Capuchin, was installed in August.

Brother Amand stayed at Fort Condé until 1742, when the church was rebuilt. It was called *Notre Dame de la Mobile*. In 1743 Jean François, the Jesuit of the Apalaches, took Brother Amand's place. Then were entries made by Prosper and Seraphin.

There seems some confusion regarding the real holders of the office, as from 1748 to 1752 Brother Pierre and Jean François sign the Register. Hilario, Barnabé and Sebastian shared the duties for two years. After them Maximin and Barnabé held till the coming of the Capuchin,

Père Ferdinand, in 1756. He was sometimes assisted by Valentin, another Capuchin, and Jean François.

In 1780 the name of the Parish Church was changed to "Yglesia de Purissima Concepcion." From that time till the American Domination there were thirteen priests in charge of the church. First was Salvador de Esperanza. After him in 1781 came Padre Carlos de Veles, Capuchin. A Dominican, Padre Francisco Notario, followed Veles, who died in June, 1783. Fray Joseph de Arazena, Capuchin, arrived in the year 1784, during the autumn. The French Abbé de Levergy wrote his records in the old language of Fort Condé, in 1785. Padre Juan Eon uses the tongue of Spain the next year.

Manuel Garcia, Franciscan, came after Miguel Lamport who, with Constantine McKenna, was sent from Salamanca to do mission work in the colonies. Father Manuel Garcia succeeded Lamport, who died in 1790.

Father McKenna was installed in 1792. He was curé until the coming of Jean François Vaugeois, in 1800.

In 1807 came Sebastian Pili, and the following year Francisco Lenon; then in 1809 Vicente Genin, who remained until 1823.

THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, CELEBRATED IN NEW ORLEANS ON DECEMBER 18, 19, and 20, 1903.

Compiled by JOEL C. DuBOSE, Editor.

On December 15, 1903, the historic *Hartford*, the flagship of Admiral David G. Farragut during the war between the States, anchored off the head of Canal street in the City of New Orleans. She was the precursor of the vessels of three nations—French, Spanish and American—headed for the Crescent City to assist in the Centennial Celebration in honor of the Louisiana purchase. The French cruiser, *Jurien de la Graviere*, named for the admiral who commanded the French fleet in the wars against England in the beginning of the nineteenth century, reached the city on the morning of December 16. On the afternoon of the same day the American vessels, *Minneapolis*, *Yankee* and *Topeka*, under command of Rear Admiral W. C. Wise, U. S. N., steamed up the river and dropped anchors by the city. The Spanish cruiser, *Rio de la Plata*, received late orders from a bitterly divided cortez, and sailed from Cartagena, Colombia, six thousand miles away, in time to reach New Orleans under fair weather, but she met with a terrific sea, stopped at Jamaica for coal, and did not reach New Orleans until the afternoon of December 20,—too late to participate in the splendid naval review of the 18, which ushered the great historical celebration, or to take any part in the appointed programme. Her officers regretted the delay, and appreciated the warm welcome accorded her.

Hon. Wm. W. Heard, Governor of Louisiana, and his staff; President Francis and his company of distinguished co-adjutors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis; Ambassador J. J. Jusserand the representative of France; Consul J. Tuero Y. O'Donnell the representative of Spain, and other noted men were present to do honor to the occasion.

The celebration was the culmination of plans and efforts of the Louisiana Historical Society to have duly commemorated in New Orleans the hundredth Anniversary of the transfer of the vast Louisiana Territory from the dominion of France to that of the

United States. The Legislature of Louisiana gave its moral and money support to the celebration, but the Congress of the United States, through the technical interference of representative Hemenway, of Indiana, failed to express its appreciation of the greatness of the historical significance involved in the celebration. The president of the United States refused co-operation, and it seemed for awhile that France and Spain solely were to lend to Louisiana the dignity of their warships and consular representatives. At the last moment the Navy of the United States was honored by the commission to Rear Admiral W. C. Wise to represent the United States in the celebration.

The weather conspired to the success of the ceremonies. It was all that could be wished. The high expectations of the nations who participated were fully met. The programme as published in the November (1903) number of this *Magazine* was carried through without a flaw, and the patriotic gratitude of millions of people was accorded to the Louisiana Historical Society for the well conceived plans and persistent endeavors which bore it to success. Seven days before the opening of the celebration ceremonies, the governor of Louisiana issued the following Centennial Proclamation:

BATON ROUGE, La., Dec. 11, 1903.

"To the people of Louisiana: One hundred years ago the vast domain called Louisiana, extending from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the sources of the rivers that flow eastward from the Rocky Mountains, was acquired by the United States from France. By the Treaty of Paris of April 30, 1803, over 1,000,000 square miles of territory were thus added to our country, and from this old Louisiana, the mother of many States, has been created twelve States and two Territories, which to-day have a population of more than 15,000,000. The free navigation of the Mississippi was thus forever secured to America and an outlet to the sea was obtained for the products of its great and fertile valley.

"This vast empire, embracing nearly one-third of the area of the United States, and developed by American genius and industry into one of the happiest and richest regions in the world, was transferred to the United States on December 20, 1803, in the old Cabildo, in the city of New Orleans.

"To commemorate the centennial of this great historical event with appropriate ceremonies, the Legislature adopted Act No. 14, of 1900, directing the Louisiana Historical Society to prepare a suitable programme, and it becomes my duty, as Chief Executive, to make this proc-

lamation, recommending our citizens to make a proper observance of this centennial event.

"Wherefore, I, William Wright Heard, Governor of Louisiana, considering the importance of this anniversary in the history of this State, do issue this proclamation that the centennial anniversary ceremonies of the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States will take place in the city of New Orleans on Dec. 18, 19 and 20, 1903.

"And, further, in order that the observance of the centennial anniversary, which appeals to all patriotic Louisianians, shall be general throughout the State, I invite the citizens of each parish to assemble at their respective courthouses on Saturday, Dec. 19, 1903, and commemorate the centennial anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and by hoisting the American flag.

"Grateful to God for the many blessings conferred on the inhabitants of Louisiana during the last 100 years, and to render thanks for the great prosperity vouchsafed to us, I earnestly ask our citizens to unite in their various places of worship on the Centennial Day, Sunday, Dec. 20, 1903, and offer up thanks to God for the great blessings conferred on us, and pray that he may forever bless us and our beloved commonwealth.

"Given under my signature and the great seal of the State at the Capitol, in the city of Baton Rouge, on this (the 11th) day of December, A. D. 1903.

"W. W. HEARD, Governor.

"By the Governor:

"JOHN T. MICHEL, Secretary of State."

Four days later the Mayor of New Orleans issued the following companion Centennial Proclamation:

NEW ORLEANS, La., December 15, 1903.

To the Citizens of New Orleans:

"The Celebration of the Centennial of the Anniversary of the Transfer of Louisiana to the United States, in pursuance of an appropriation in aid thereof by the City Council of New Orleans, being about to take place in this city on the 18, 19 and 20th of December, in the year of our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Three, under the auspices of the Historical Society of the State of Louisiana, and in the presence of the Governor of the State, and of other public officials, of officers of the Army, and officers of the Navy of the United States, in command of a fleet of ships of war, assembled in honor of this great public transaction, and the expected attendance upon the occasion of distinguished strangers and of representatives of foreign nations, and especially of French and Spanish officers commanding ships of war of their respective countries, render it appropriate for me to issue this, my Proclamation, as Mayor of New Orleans, in memory of so solemn an event, and in order that the celebration in view may be general, to request that on Friday, Dec. 18th, the public

and private schools be closed at 12 o'clock, and on Saturday, the 19th of December, the whole day, and that the citizens of New Orleans exhibit their sympathy with the exercises which have been provided for, by attending upon them so far as practicable, and by displaying from their dwellings and other buildings the national colors.

"On Dec. 20, A. D. 1803, the tricolored flag of France was displayed for the last time at sunrise on the Place d'Armes, now called Jackson Square, which faces the ancient buildings where the Cabildo held its sessions.

"The French flag made room for the Stars and Stripes under repeated peals of musketry and artillery. The territory thus acquired included Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, the Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Nebraska, North Dakota, a great part of Minnesota, Montana, Colorado, Wyoming and Kansas. The Oregon Territory, occupied by the United States, and claimed as part of the Louisiana purchase, and later, in 1818 up to 1846, held in joint occupancy with Great Britain, was afterwards, in 1846, by treaty with Great Britain, recognized to belong to the United States, and included the States of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The treaty under which the transfer was effected was concluded at Paris, on the 30th of April, A. D. 1803, as the result of the labors of Robert R. Livingston, the American plenipotentiary; Mr. Monroe arrived in time to co-operate with him in fixing the price at the sum of fifteen million dollars, for which Napoleon Bonaparte ceded, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the Province of Louisiana to the United States.

"There is not, it is justly claimed, fellow-citizens, at the present time, 100 years after the purchase, treasure enough among the nations of the earth to buy this territory, nor could the combined armies and navies of the world wrest it by conquest from the United States.

"PAUL CAPDEVIELLE,

"Mayor of New Orleans."

The ceremonies opened, December 18, with a naval parade in which the Governor of Louisiana reviewed the fleet of France and of the United States, whose vessels made one of the finest river pictures ever presented to the city. The local and National military companies added to the magnificent effect of the review. The Colonial ball, which occurred at night in the French Opera House, was brilliant and appropriate. It reproduced the customs and costumes of a hundred years ago, and was the supreme expression of that which is most artistic and cultured in social life.

After the morning reception held in the City Hall, where the Mayor and members of the Louisiana Historical Society welcomed the guests of the city, the company moved to the Archbishopric,

where the Colonial Museum was opened with its treasurers of history. This is the oldest building in the city, having been built in 1724 for the Ursuline Nuns. It was for a brief while the capitol of the State, having been leased from the nuns, in the early part of the nineteenth century, for the meetings of the State Legislature. Moving next to the Cabildo, the ancient building in which occurred the original transfer, the distinguished chief actors, from porch and platform on its front, faced an immense throng of people and looked out upon Jackson Square. From this position Governor Heard, introduced by Chairman Zacharie, spoke of the vast importance of the transfer in its relation to American power. After him speeches were made by Ambassador Jusserand, bearing the friendly greetings of France; by Consul O'Donnell, communicating the good feeling and reciprocal cordiality of Spain; by Rear Admiral Wise, voicing the good will and generous courtesies of the United States; and by Ex-Governor Francis outlining the great success of the St. Louis exposition, which has invited every nation of the world to join the United States in making the Louisiana Purchase Exposition the greatest the world has ever seen.

The night following gave the French families the pleasure of special entertainment to Ambassador Jusserand. This was at the French Opera House.

On Sunday, December 20, was celebrated in St. Louis Cathedral a grand pontifical high Mass. Archbishop Chappelle conducted Father De la Moriniere preached the sermon which told eloquently the history of French and Spanish dominion in the establishment of the civilization of Louisiana and the Gulf States. Upon the close of the services in St. Louis Cathedral, the celebrants entered the Cabildo again, and there reproduced the ceremonies of the original transfer. Professor Alceé Fortier impersonated Laussat the French prefect; Charles F. Claiborne took the part of his grandfather, Governor Wm. C. C. Claiborne; Theodore Wilkinson represented his great-grandfather, Gen. James Wilkinson; Charles T. Soniat impersonated Dangerot, the secretary of Laussat, and Col. James Zacharie impersonated D. Wardsworth, secretary of the American Commission. The original transfer was followed literally, and after the ceremony reproducing it was completed, the following Proces Verbal of the Centennial Ceremonies of Decem-

ber 20, 1903, became incorporated into the transactions of the celebration:

PROCES VERBAL OF THE CENTENNIAL CEREMONIES OF
DECEMBER 20, 1903.

Be it known, that, on this, the twentieth day of December, 1903, of the Christian era, and of the one hundred and twenty-eighth year of the independence of the United States, ceremonies commemorative of the centennial anniversary of the transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States, were held in the Sala Capitular of the Cabildo, in the city of New Orleans, under the presidency of His Excellency, William Wright Heard, Governor of Louisiana, and in the presence of the representatives of the United States, France and Spain, Paul Capdevielle, Mayor of the city of New Orleans, State and city officials and distinguished citizens of Louisiana and other States.

At these ceremonies were present:

Prof. Alcé Fortier, President of the Louisiana Historical Society, representing the French Commissioner, Pierre Clement Laussat; Charles T. Soniat du Fossat, his Secretary Dagerot; the Hon. Charles F. Claiborne, representing his grandfather, Commissioner William Charles Cole Claiborne; the Hon. Theodore Wilkinson, representing his great-grand father, Commissioner Brigadier James Wilkinson, and the Hon. Jas. S. Zacharie, a member of the City Council, representing Secretary Wadsworth. After reading the powers of the Commissioners to deliver and receive possession of Louisiana, the powers of Commissioner Laussat to receive the transfer of Louisiana from Spain, which took place Nov. 30, 1803, and the proces verbal of the transfer by France to the United States on Dec. 20, 1803, and the address of Governor Claiborne on receiving possession of Louisiana and the delivery of keys, representing those of the gates of New Orleans in 1803, the delivery of commemorate medals and the reading of Governor Claiborne's proclamation by the Mayor of New Orleans, from the central balcony of the Cabildo, and addresses being made by the Governor of Louisiana and Mayor of New Orleans, the officials and citizens present, in order to preserve a good record of these commemorative centennial ceremonies, have signed this proces verbal.

Signed:

W. W. HEARD, Governor.

JUSSERAND, Ambassador of France.

J. TUERO Y O'DONNELL, Representing Spain.

W. C. WISE, Rear Admiral, U. S. N.,

Representing the United States Government.

PAUL CAPDEVIELLE, Mayor of New Orleans.

A. D. LAND, Associate Justice

of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

ALCE FORTIER, Representing Laussat.

FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS,
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

E. LEMOGNE,
Commanding the Jurien de la Graviere.

P. L. CHAPELLE, Archbishop of New Orleans
and Apostolic Delegate.

CHARLES F. CLAIBORNE.

THEODORE S. WILKINSON.

JAMES S. ZACHARIE.

DAVID R. FRANCIS,

President Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

CHARLES T. SONIAT.

F. A. MONROE, Associate Justice Supreme Court.

JOSEPH A. BREAUX,

Associate Justice Supreme Court.

OLIVER O. PROVOSTY,

Associate Justice Supreme Court.

A commemorative bronze medal was prepared to add to the impressiveness of the occasion. On one side it bears the impressions of Napoleon and Jefferson; on the other the names of the States formed from the territory included in the transfer. The editor of this *Magazine* acknowledges gratefully the presentation to him of one of the medals by Professor Fortier.

To all members of the Louisiana Historical Society is due the credit of the success of the Centennial celebration, but to none more than to Professor Alcé Fortier, the president, whose speech at the Colonial Museum will form a fitting résumé of the events marking the early history of Louisiana. It is here given as it occurred in the New Orleans Picayune of December 21, 1903.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—By an act of the Legislature of our State, passed in 1900, the Louisiana Historical Society was authorized to procure a suitable program for the celebration, in December, 1903, of the centennial anniversary of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. In 1902, on the recommendation of our patriotic Governor, the Legislature appropriated a certain sum of money to carry out the elaborate programme submitted by the Historical Society, and the City Council of New Orleans has lately done the same. One of the principal features of the programme was to be the opening of an historical exhibit. It was deemed highly appropriate, while the history of Louisiana was receiving eager attention all over the United States, that an opportunity be given our people to see the pictures of the men and women whose deeds formed our history, and to see also in the words of contemporaries the documents which relate that history.

"It is eminently proper that this historical exhibit be held in the oldest historical building to be found in the whole territory of the former province of Louisiana, a building which is a memento of the early years of

New Orleans, and which has been hallowed by the presence within its walls of saintly nuns and venerated bishops.

"Shortly after the foundation of New Orleans, Bienville, the wise Governor, endeavored to establish schools for the boys and girls of the colony, and it was at his request that the Ursuline nuns came to Louisiana. On February 23, 1727, they started, a company of eleven, from Lorient in Brittany, with Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin as Mother Superior. They arrived at the Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi, after a tiresome and perilous journey of five months, which Sister Madeline Hachard has related in a charming manner in her letters to her father. Her description of New Orleans as it was in August, 1727, is very interesting. She says that the town is beautiful, well constructed and regularly built, that the streets are very wide, and the principal one is nearly a league in length. She adds that a song is sung publicly in which it is said that the city presents as fine an appearance as Paris. Sister Madeline tells her father that she is not eloquent enough to convince him of all the beauty of the town, and that she finds some difference between New Orleans and Paris. With regard to the inhabitants she mentions that the ladies are dressed magnificently with stuffs of velvet or damask covered with ribbons, and, shall I say it, as elsewhere, make use of rouge and blanc and mouches or beauty spots.

"The first residence of the nuns was Bienville's former house, the most beautiful in the town, and situated in the block now bounded by Bienville, Chartres, Iberville and Decatur Streets. The convent, or permanent residence of the nuns, the building of which began in 1727, was situated at the other extremity of the town. Governor Perier and his wife were very kind to the nuns, and so was Rev. Father de Beaubois, the Superior of the few Jesuits who were then in New Orleans, and who was unremitting in his zeal for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the colonists. Instead of encouraging the young students of the Ursulines in their desire to become nuns, Father de Beaubois thought it would be better for them to become Christian mothers in order to establish religion in the country by their good examples; to draw souls towards the Lord, such was the constant purpose of the Ursulines, and in our history we should always remember with gratitude the earliest teachers of girls in Louisiana, the guardians of the little orphans, and the tender nurses of the sick and the poor at the hospital. It was no doubt to the teaching of the good sisters that the ladies in Louisiana owed the singular elegance and refinement which were noticed by all travelers in the colonial days, and which have become the common heritage of the ladies of our days.

"On July 17, 1734, the nuns took possession of their convent, this present building. Mother Superior Tranchepain had died in November, 1733, but Madeline Hachard, the pious and charming woman whose letters form one of the most important historical documents for the study of our early history, lived till August 9, 1760. At that time the French domination in Louisiana was coming to a close. From 1727 to 1760 many important events had taken place in our history. The Company of the Indies had surrendered its charter, and Louisiana had become again a royal province; Bienville had succeeded Perier as Governor, and had been unsuccessful in his wars against the Chickasaws; Vaudreuil, the 'Grand Marquis,' had governed the province with pomp and dignity, and Kerlerec had been his successor. In 1760, at the time of Madeline Hachard's death, France had suffered greatly from the Seven Years' War, and two years later Louis XV, the selfish and corrupt successor of the stately monarch for whom Louisiana had been named, ceded the whole province to his cousin, Charles III of Spain, an abler and better ruler than the Bourbon of Versailles.

"We need not relate the events which followed the attempt by the Spaniards to take possession of Louisiana; the devotion of the colonists to France, and later the project of establishing a republic on the banks of the Mississippi. The revolution of 1768 is a sad and glorious event in our annals, and in the archives of the Ursuline Convent is chronicled the fact that, on October 25, 1769, the chiefs of the insurrection of 1768 were shot in the yard of the barracks adjoining the convent. 'It was,' says the chronicle, 'a terrible moment of anguish for the nuns. The report of firearms caused the windows of the chapel to shake, where had taken refuge the relatives of the victims, with whom the nuns prayed.'

"Is it not interesting, ladies and gentlemen, to contemplate the building which held within its walls in colonial times the good sisters and their charming pupils, the grandmothers and mothers of our grandmothers, the building which was visited by the French Governors, and later by all the Spanish Governors? We like to portray the gentle Unzaga, the heroic Bernado de Galvez and the courtly Carondelet, as they stood where we are at present. We reach the first years of the nineteenth century, and from this spot we hear the firing of cannon which announces the arrival in New Orleans of Pierre Clement de Laussat, the French Colonial Prefect. By treaty Louisiana has become French once more, and the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Manuel de Salcedo have been instructed to transfer the sovereignty of the province to the representative of Bonaparte, the First Consul of the French Republic.

"Let us now leave this building; let us run up Condé Street to the house of Laussat, and there let us enjoy his hospitality as he is acquainting himself with the country and the people whom he is to govern. On his arrival the Prefect issued a proclamation to the Louisianians announcing the retrocession of the province to France, and the inhabitants of New Orleans and the planters of Louisiana answered him with simplicity and dignity. They expressed the pleasure they felt on becoming French again, but they said that the French Republic would attach less value to the homage of their fidelity if it saw them relinquish, without any sentiment of regret, the sovereign who had lavished his favors upon them during the time he had reigned over them. This kind remembrance of the Spanish domination was eminently just, for, from Unzaga to Salcedo, from 1770 to 1803, the rule of the Spanish Governors had been mild and beneficent.

"The second French domination in Louisiana was not to be of long duration, for, on April 30, 1803, Bonaparte ceded the immense colony to the United States. Livingston and Monroe wisely treated for the cession of the whole province, although not instructed by their Government to do so, and President Jefferson, as a true patriot, approved an act which was to assure forever the greatness and power of the nation, and make our Louisiana enter the glorious Federal Union established by the men of the American Revolution.

"Laussat, in New Orleans, was instructed to receive the sovereignty of the province from Spain and to transfer it to the United States. At our old Cabildo, on Nov. 30, 1803, the transfer from Spain to France took place. On the same day the Colonial Prefect and Commissioner issued a second proclamation to the Louisianians. He announced the cession to the United States, which he considered the precious pledge of the friendship which could not fail to grow from day to day between the two republics, and which conferred upon the Louisianians the most eminent and most memorable of blessings. He called attention to the rights and privileges appertaining to a free government with which the Louisianians had been suddenly invested. He predicted that the Nile of America, the Mississippi, would soon see its bosom darkened with a thousand ships belonging to all the nations of the earth, and mooring at the quays of another Alexandria.

He said finally that he hoped the Louisianians would always distinguish with affection the French flag, and that their hearts would never cease to rejoice at the sight of its glorious folds. Allow me to say here, ladies and gentlemen, in the presence of the distinguished Ambassador of the French Republic, that Laussat's hope has been realized. One hundred years have elapsed since the French flag was lowered from the staff erected in the Place d'Armes and the American banner took its place as the emblem of sovereignty, and yet the hearts of the Americans of to-day, descendants of the Louisianians of 1803, are always thrilled with pleasure at the sight of the banner of France. It reminds them of their ancestors, the pioneers on this soil; it reminds them of Lafayette and of Rochambeau, of Brandywine and of Yorktown.

"After abolishing the Spanish Cabildo and appointing a Municipal Council, of which Etienne de Boré was the head, Laussat gave, on December 1, in honor of the French flag, a magnificent dinner and a ball, which was opened with a minuet danced by the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Mme. Almonester. On December 8 the Spanish Marquis gave a ball in honor of Laussat, and on December 16 the French Commissioner returned the compliment. His guests were so delighted with his hospitality that they stayed at his house until half-past nine in the morning. It is a pity that at the ball given so graciously yesterday by the ladies of the Louisiana Historical Society we did not follow the good example set a hundred years ago. We saw the minuet and the gavotte of 1803; we admired young ladies who were as beautiful and as graceful as their great-grandmothers, a century ago, and we wished the ball of 1903 had lasted as long as that of 1803. Indeed, let us live for a moment in the past.

"It is Sunday, December 18, 1803, and Laussat, accompanied by the Municipal council and many notable persons, attends magnificent services at the Cathedral. He enters the church between rows of Grenadiers, and great honors are rendered the representative of the French Republic. For the last time in Louisiana soil are heard the solemn words: 'Domine, salvam fac Republicam, Domine, salvos fac Consules.' At 2 o'clock the American Commissioners, Claiborne and Wilkinson, are seen coming on the Levee, preceded by a detachment of Mississippi Volunteer Cavalry. They go to Laussat's house, and arrangements are made for the transfer of the province to the United States on Dec. 20.

"On Monday, December 19 at noon, the French Commissioner starts to return the visit of Claiborne and Wilkinson. Laussat wears a magnificent costume and rides a beautiful horse splendidly caparisoned, the Municipal Council and more than sixty persons accompanying the Commissioner to the American camp, situated two miles from the city. The weather is balmy and springlike, and continues to be so on Tuesday, December 20, when the solemn act of transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States is accomplished.

"I shall not relate, ladies and gentlemen, the ceremonies which took place on that day. To-morrow, after rendering thanks to God in our historic Cathedral, we shall repeat somewhat the ceremonies of a hundred years ago. Our honored Governor and our honored Mayor will deliver addresses on December 20. In a few minutes we shall all go to our venerated Cabildo, and in front of that interesting edifice the Governor of our State will welcome the guests of Louisiana. It is my pleasant duty, as President of the Historical Society, which has prepared the programme of these centennial exercises, to welcome the visitors to this historical Museum, and I do so most cordially in the name of the Society.

"As I have already said, around this building cluster recollections of the greatest interest. Andrew Jackson, after the glorious battle of January 8, 1815, entered these portals to thank the nuns for their prayers

in behalf of the Americans. The good Sisters left their first Convent in 1824, and this edifice lost for a short time its sacred character. It became the seat of the Legislature of Louisiana, and the honorable Senators and representatives were doubtless inspired in their task of lawmaking by the remembrance of the gentle and pious persons who had dwelt here for eighty-seven years. As the residence of bishops and archbishops, this old building regained its holy character, and it is to the enlightened kindness of the authorities of this archdiocese that we are indebted for the permission of holding our exhibit here.

"Our little museum contains mementoes of a number of years, but we wish to recall principally to-day the men and women of 1803. Were they to revive, what marvels they would see! Their Louisiana now forms twelve States and two Territories of the American Union, and their little New Orleans is now the metropolis of our Southern country. So great has been the progress of the Province of Louisiana in a century that a wonderful World's Fair is being prepared to celebrate that progress.

"Well may we, ladies and gentlemen, thank the Almighty for the blessings which he has showered upon our fathers and upon us."

*WAS MOBILE INCLUDED IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE?

IBERVILLE SOCIETY SO ASSERTS AND PROVES.

St. Louis Exposition Authorities Continue to Ignore the History of
This Part of the Country.

The maps of the Louisiana Purchase, put forth by the World's Fair people, make it appear that the territory purchased from Napoleon did not embrace that part of Louisiana of which Mobile was long the capital. The Iberville Historical Society has tried to get the error corrected but without success. The following is the minutes of the Society's proceedings:

The Iberville Historical Society having raised a committee, of which Mr. P. J. Hamilton was chairman, to enter into correspondence with the authorities of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and procure the correction of the error into which they had fallen in regard to the Gulf strip between the Perdido and the Mississippi, the committee prepared a report and communicated it to these gentlemen, with the result that they simply denied, on certain unofficial expression of persons in departments at Washington, that the Historical Society's position was sound. This reply having been submitted to the draftsman of the committee's report called forth the following further report on the subject:

MR. PILLANS' PAPER.

*P. J. Hamilton, Esq., President Iberville Historical Society,
Mobile, Ala.*

DEAR SIR:—I have to thank you for handing me the response of Mr. W. B. Stevens, secretary of Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, to your communication relating to the error committed by the Exposition Company in omitting the territory lying west of Perdido river and south of the thirty-first parallel of latitude in the maps of the Louisiana purchase, and after reading the same,

*In view of the profound public interest in the Louisiana Purchase, and the Exposition now in preparation at St. Louis, Missouri, this most excellent article from the pen of Capt. H. Pillans, is reproduced from the *Mobile Daily Register*, March 15, 1903.

would submit to you some further observations which it seems to me should be brought to the attention of these gentlemen.

As a matter of course our interest is purely an historical one, and it would make no practical difference to us whether we became a part of the Union by virtue of the purchase from Spain or by the Louisiana acquisition, but the facts of history should not be distorted, and these establish that our section was acquired at the same time that the balance of the original province of Louisiana became American territory, and this notwithstanding that Spain for a while undertook to debate the question. The State of Louisiana with its present boundaries, which include a part of the disputed territory, was incorporated into the Union in the year 1812; the State of Mississippi with another part of this disputed territory, was admitted in the year 1817, and Alabama in December, 1819, the latter being the only one of the three which was admitted after the signing of the treaty with Spain, and the admission of Alabama antedated by more than a year the final ratification of the Spanish treaty by the Senate. Now either this territory was acquired by the Louisiana purchase or it was wrongfully incorporated into American States by the Congress of the United States. No scholastic disquisition by officers of any department at this late day, can alter the fact that the United States claimed to have so acquired it, and acted upon this claim persistently and constantly from 1810 forward, taking armed possession in 1813. If the territory was Spanish, then Louisiana and Mississippi when admitted into the Union contained Spanish territory, an impossible thing.

However this question had been examined by the highest tribunal in the land in the case quoted in extenso in the committee's report, *Foster vs. Neilson*, 2 Peters 251, and also in many other cases and notably in the case of *Garcia vs. Lee*, reported in 12 Peters 511, and *United States vs. Lynde*, 11 Wall. 632. I appeal especially to these three opinions. The first, written by the great Chief Justice Marshall, the next by the learned Chief Justice Taney, and the last named the production of Mr. Justice Bradley, each of whose names carry with them the greatest weight.

The early case having been fully considered in the report I will make no further mention of it.

In 1838 Chief Justice Taney had to deal, in the case cited from 12 Peters, with the question, whether the Spanish authorities could

lawfully grant in 1806 land lying in this disputed tract, and he declares: "It is well known as a matter of history, that the executive and legislative departments of our Government have continually insisted that the true boundary of Louisiana, as we acquired it by the treaty with France of the thirtieth of April, 1803, extended to the Perdido; that the claim of the United States was disputed by Spain; and that she refused to deliver the territory, and claimed a right to exercise the powers of government over it; which claim the United States denied. On the twenty-sixth of March, 1804, Congress passed a law dividing Louisiana into two territorial governments; and in order to protect the interest of the United States in the disputed territory, the fourteenth section of this law enacts, that all grants of lands within the territories ceded by the French republic to the United States, by the treaty of the thirtieth of April, 1803, the title whereof was at that date of the treaty of St. Ildefonso in the crown, government or nation of Spain, and every act and proceeding subsequent thereto of whatsoever nature, toward the obtaining of any grant, title or claim to such land, under whatsoever authority transacted or pretended, be, and the same are hereby declared to be and to have been from the beginning, null and void, and of no effect in law or in equity.' The titles of actual settlers, acquired before the twentieth of December, 1803, are excepted by a proviso, from the operation of this section.

"The grant under which the appellant Garcia claims, falls within the provisions of this section, and as this law of Congress has never been repealed or modified in relation to grants made by the Spanish authorities, the appellant has no title at law or in equity; unless it can be shown that the act of Congress in question, upon some ground or other, is void and inoperative; and that the courts of the United States are bound to recognize a title acquired in opposition to its provisions.

"The question presented by the records before us are not new in this court. They were examined and considered in the case of Foster & Elam vs. Neilson, decided here in 1829; * * * * This court then decided that the question of boundary between the United States and Spain was a question for the political department of the government; that the legislative and executive branches having decided the question, the courts of the United States were bound to regard the boundary determined on by them as the true one.

That grants made by the Spanish authorities of lands, which, according to this boundary line belonged to the United States, gave no title to the guarantees, in opposition to those claiming under the United States; unless the Spanish grants were protected by the subsequent arrangements made between the two governments; and that no such arrangements were to be found in the treaty of 1819, by which Spain ceded the Floridas to the United States, according to the fair import of its words and its true construction. These positions have all been controverted in the argument at the bar, in the case now before us. But we do not think it necessary, in deciding the case, to enter upon a discussion of the various topics pressed upon the attention of the court; and shall content ourselves with extracting several portions of the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Foster and Elam vs Neilson*, in order to show that all of the points now raised were carefully considered and decided in the case referred to. (Here follows a lengthy extract.)

"The leading principle of the case (*United States vs. Percheman*, 7 Pet. 86), which declares that the boundary line determined on as the true one by the political departments of the government must be recognized as the true one by the judicial department, was subsequently directly acknowledged and affirmed by this court in 1832, in the case of the *United States vs. Arredondo and others*, 6 Pet. 711. And this decision was given with the same information before them as to the meaning of the Spanish side of the treaty, which is mentioned in the case of *Percheman*; and, consequently that information could not have shaken the confidence of the court in any of the opinions pronounced in *Foster and Elam vs. Neilson*, further than has been already stated.

"In this view of the subject, the case of *Foster and Elam vs. Neilson* decides the case. It decides that the territory in which this land was situated belonged to the United States at the time that this grant was made by the Spanish authority; it decides that this grant is not embraced by the eighth article of the treaty which ceded the Floridas to the United States; that the stipulations in that article are confined to the territory which belonged to Spain at the time of the cession, according to the American construction of the treaty; and that the exception of the three grants made in

the ratification of this treaty, by the King of Spain, cannot enlarge the meaning of the words used in the eighth article; and cannot, in the language of the court, 'extend them to embrace grants not otherwise intended to be confirmed;' * * * * These principles thus settled by this court cover the whole ground now in controversy. * * * * *

"In the case before us the grant is invalid from 'an intrinsic defect' in the title of Spain. It is true that she still claimed the country, and refused to deliver it to the United States. But her conduct was, in this respect, in violation of the rights of the United States, and of the obligation of treaties. The United States did not immediately take forcible possession as they might justly have done, and preferred a more pacific and magnanimous policy toward a weaker adversary. Yet their forbearance could, upon no just grounds, impair their rights or legalize the wrongful grants of Spain, made in a territory which did not belong to her; for the authorities of the United States made known by every means in their power their inflexible determination to assert the rights of this country; and Congress, in order to guard against imposition and injustice, declared by law in 1804 that all grants of land made by the Spanish authorities after the date of the treaty of St. Ildefonso would be null and void, excepting only those to actual settlers, acquired before December 20, 1803.

"The present appellant procured his title from Spain after the passage of this law. The land granted to him belonged not to Spain, but to the United States."

Mr. Justice Bradley, in case of United States vs. Lynne, 11 Wallace 632, recites the ambiguity which was found in the treaty of St. Ildefonso and in the treaty of Paris and the consequent misunderstanding between Spain and the United States, and the contention by the United States that it had acquired in the purchase of Louisiana the disputed territory. He also recites the refusal of Spain to surrender possession of the disputed territory and that notwithstanding this refusal our government, through its executive and legislative departments, always claiming that it was covered by the two treaties of cession, that is, the treaties of St. Ildefonso and of Paris, and insisting that it rightfully belonged to them in 1803, and while Spain was still in possession, and assuming to grant lands, organized the Louisiana purchase into temporary gov-

ernments and declared all grants within the ceded territories made by Spain after the treaty of St. Ildefonso (in 1800) to be void, except those made to actual settlers prior to the purchase treaty of 1803. And he further recites the proclamation of President Madison in 1810, the preamble of which shows that this territory was always claimed by the Union and which directs Governor Claiborne, of the territory of Orleans, to take possession of and govern the same. He further recites the appointment of commissioners to investigate the titles to land in West Florida under the act of Congress of the 25th of April, 1812, and the action of this commission; and also the discussions which had in times past arisen before the courts of the United States, in the cases above cited and other cases, and declares that, in view of this long course of decisions, all to the same purport, it must be considered as judicially settled in this court "that Louisiana, as ceded to the United States in 1803, embraced the territory between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers, and that our government had a perfect legal right, whatever may have been its moral or honorary obligation, to ignore all grants made by the Spanish authorities after the treaty of St. Ildefonso went into effect." He further says: "But that the government of the United States has always continued to insist upon its own construction of the treaties, whenever they are referred to as a matter of right or historical derivation of title, is manifest, among other things, from the act admitting Florida into the Union as a State, passed so late as March 3, 1845, by which the boundaries are fixed as follows: 'Said State of Florida shall embrace the territories of East and West Florida, which, by the treaty between the United States and Spain, on the 22d day of February, 1819, were ceded to the United States.'"

"It is well known that Florida as thus limited extended only to the Perdido, all the territory west of which had long previously been assigned to the States of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, which were respectively admitted into the Union with their present boundaries in 1812, 1817 and 1819."

Now let us reverse the proposition. Let us suppose that a celebration of the Florida purchase should be attempted in 1819, and let us suppose that Congress should pass an act aiding any city or State occupying territory which lay within the land acquired by the treaty of 1819 for the purpose of participating in an exposition

to be held, how could Mobile or Alabama or Ocean Springs, in Mississippi, the earliest seat of French empire upon the gulf, rightfully call upon the departments having the execution of this law in charge for a share of this bounty. The answer would be conclusive. Your title has been fully passed upon through a long period of years, by the political and judicial departments of the government, adversely to your contention; you came as part of Louisiana and not as part of Florida, you were ceded to us by Napoleon Bonaparte and not by the King of Spain, and to this plea no replication would be available. I remain, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

HARRY PILLANS.

ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF BRITISH WEST FLORIDA.

(1766-1778.)

BY PETER J. HAMILTON, Mobile, Alabama.

One of the most important results of the establishment of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama is the collection of foreign documents now being made. This will embrace French and Spanish records bearing on the discovery, exploration and settlement of the Gulf Coast, particularly about Mobile. It will also embrace the British period from 1763 to 1781, during which the country from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee, from the Gulf to the line passing near Vicksburg and Montgomery, constituted the Province of West Florida. These seventeen or eighteen years constitute perhaps only an episode, because they were preceded by a longer French rule and succeeded by a longer Spanish régime, both of which are generally thought to have made a greater impression upon history. But this is not quite clear. Many names of material objects and even plantations, families and, quite possibly, some institutions, lasted on during the Spanish time and re-appeared under the Americans. The period deserves close study, and besides its general history, heretofore somewhat worked up in Pickett's Alabama and especially in Colonial Mobile, there have been secured for the Archive Department of Alabama the very laws passed by the Provincial Legislature.

In some way the early historians denied that there was any Legislature for West Florida. In point of fact there was a number of sessions, and the statutes passed form an interesting compilation. They cover many subjects and show a well developed social status.

The General Assembly, for such was its name, met in a hired house at the capital, Pensacola. It was made up of two bodies, the Council and the House of Assembly, and legislation required the consent of the Governor. The acts could be disallowed by the Board of Trade, the branch of the British government which would control in provincial matters, and some two or three statutes were thus vetoed. The first session was the most prolific of all, giving rise to twenty-three statutes in the time between November 24th, 1766, and June 5th, 1767. The second seems to have lasted only

a few days in December, 1767, and from it date only four acts. The third session extended from May 26th to June 8th, 1769, and shows six laws. The fourth session extended from March 19th to May 18th, 1770, and to it may be referred eight acts. Next came a fifth session in the summer of 1771, from June 27th to July 15th, producing five statutes. From one point of view this was the end to legislative activity in West Florida, for the Governor got along without any assembly until 1778, and there was but one act of that year, which passed the Lower House on October 23d. It is political in its character, relating to the number and rights of representatives in the Assembly, and was a termination of the long struggle between the Assembly and the Governor.

It is impracticable, within the compass of a short article, to make a full study of those statutes, but the captions are annexed and give a general idea of the whole. At the same time a few salient points may be indicated. Thus, at the very first session we find extensive provisions for the regulation of indented servants, and also for the government of slaves, whether negro or Indian. The sale of liquor was regulated among the British colonists, and stringent provisions were made as to its sale to the Indians. The importance of commerce was shown by the laws as to wharves, flat-boats and canoes, bonds on incoming vessels, and the like. The appropriations by the imperial government not being sufficient to pay the expenses of provisions, duties were established upon imports, and, although the act was limited in duration, it was amended and re-enacted from time to time. Protection for home industry was thus early made a part of the policy of this portion of our country. There were local acts as to the streets of Mobile and the market at Pensacola. Mobile was larger than the capital, and it was necessary to furnish special courts for its Charlotte county, which extended from the watershed of the present Baldwin to that of Pascagoula.

The later legislation was important, but rather in the nature of addition than otherwise. That of 1769 began with an act to encourage the settlement of the Mississippi part of the province, and marks the beginning of the development of that portion of the country, which afterwards grew to be of almost equal importance with Mobile or Pensacola. Then for these two latter places were instituted vestries and parish officers, for although immigrants

from Spanish Louisiana were encouraged by the removal of all disability on account of religion, the State religion was the Anglican. We have to go far back into the history of Virginia and Carolina to find as thorough a participation of church officers in civil government as that which prevailed in West Florida. The fluctuating character of the population was shown in the provisions as to foreign attachment and those preventing persons in debt from leaving by sea.

A Statute of Frauds, covering recording of deeds and joinder by married women, also dates from this time. The rural nature of much of the province is shown by acts to prevent the stealing of horses and meat cattle, and also restraining the burning of grass and woods. Tramps required regulation, and a Court of Requests for small debts was no less necessary than constables. The Court of Common Pleas served for general legal purposes, and the sheriff's place was, as in South Carolina, taken by the Provost Marshal.

Some incidental points of interest may be noted. Thus, there had to be a French Translator of Laws. Slaves were chattels and children followed the condition of the mother. Conversion to Christianity did not result in freedom. The members of the Assembly were paid for their attendance. No negro could vote, even if free, and neither could a Jew. Gaming was dealt with. The measures were English, but the money shows a miscellaneous mixture of ryals, dollars and bitts, besides pounds, shillings and pence. If a slave was executed for crime, his master was paid his value. Debtors were sometimes hired to work out payment of their debts. Some of the proceeds of the duties went to the establishment of a government road, including ferries, from Pensacola to Mobile, by way of the place even now known as the Village. Among the punishments we find even dismembering, although this was limited to slaves. Forestalling the market was forbidden, but the sale of market provisions after market hours was allowed.

It will easily be realized, therefore, that there is no little interest and value in the study of the Legislation of British West Florida.

LIST OF WEST FLORIDA ACTS.

No. 1. An Act for the Regulation of Servants. (Passed the 24th November, 1766.)

No. 2. An Act for Clearing the Town of Mobile of all Offensive Weeds and Cutting Down the Woods Around Said Town. (Dec. 10, 1766.)

NO. 3. An Act for Granting of Licenses to Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, Imposing a Duty on Said Licenses, and for Regulating of Taverns or Public Houses. (November 24th, 1766.)

No. 4. An Act to Restrain Drunkenness and Promote Industry. (Dec. 15, 1766.)

No. 5. An Act Concerning Coasters. (Dec. 30, 1766.)

No. 6. An Act for Encouraging the Inhabitants of Pensacola and Mobile to Build Wharves and for Establishing Rates of Wharfage. (Dec. 10, 1766.)

No. 7. An Act Appointing Where the Laws of this Province Shall be Lodged. (Dec. 23, 1766.)

No. 8. An Act Concerning Flat Boats and Canoes. (Dec. 15, 1766.)

No. 9. An Act to Elect Mobile into a County and to Establish a Court of Common Pleas Therein. (Disallowed January 15, 1772.) (Passed 22d December, 1766.)

No. 10. An Act Establishing the Interest of Money and Ascertain the Damages on Protested Bills of Exchange. (Nov. 15, 1766.)

No. 11. An Act to Encourage Foreigners to Come Into and Settle in this Province. (Dec. 22, 1766.)

No. 12. An Act to Oblige Masters of Vessels to Give Bond in the Provincial Secretary's Office. (Dec. 22, 1766.)

No. 13. An Act for Granting Certain Duties to His Majesty to be Applied Towards Supporting the Government of this Province. (Dec 22, 1766.)

No. 14. An Act for the Regulation and Government of Negroes and Slaves. (Dec. 24, 1766.)

No. 15. An Act Appointing the Number of the Assembly and Regulating Elections. (Dec. 11, 1766.)

No. 16. An Act to Amend and Render More Effectual an Act Intitled "An Act Granting Certain Duties to His Majesty to be Applied Towards Supporting the Government of this Province." (May 18, 1767.)

No. 17. An Act for Clearing the Streets of Pensacola and

for Preventing Nuisances in and About the Said Town. (May 30, 1767.)

No. 18. An Act for Granting Certain Duties to His Majesty on all Lumber and Other Materials for Building Imported into this Province from Foreign Parts and for Applying the Same to Certain Purposes. May 18th, 1767.)

No. 19. An Act to Regulate Markets and to Prevent Fore-stalling. (May 18th, 1767.)

No. 20. An Act for the Order and Government of Slaves. (June 2d, 1767.)

No. 21. An Act for Impowering Magistrates and Freeholders of Charlotte County Occasionally to Prohibit the Selling of Rum or Other Strong Liquors to the Indians. (May 22d, 1767.)

No. 22. An Act Concerning Attachments and for Regulating the Marshal's Proceedings. (June 1st, 1767.)

No. 23. An Act Appointing Commissioners for Building a Market House, Regulating Markets and for Applying Certain Sums of Money for Establishing a Ferry at the River Perdido, and Towards Opening a Road from Pensacola to the Bay of Mobile. (June 5th, 1767.)

No. 24. An Act for Granting Certain Duties to His Majesty and for Applying the Same to Certain Purposes. (Dec. 31st, 1767.)

No. 25. An Act to Amend an Act Intituled "An Act Concerning Coasters" and for Regulating and Improving the Coasting Trade. (Dec. 24th, 1767.)

No. 26. An Act to Prevent the Selling of Flour Otherwise than by Weight and to Regulate the Assize of Bread. (28th Dec., 1767.)

No. 27. An Act to Confirm and Regulate the Court of Requests. (28th Dec., 1767.)

No. 28. An Act to Encourage the Settlement of that Part of this Province Lying to the Westward of Charlotte County. (26th May, 1769.)

No. 29. An Act for the Relief of Debtors Who May be Confined in the Gaol and are Unable to Support Themselves During Such Their Confinement. (10th June, 1769.)

No. 30. An Act for Appointing Vestries and Parish Officers for the Towns of Pensacola and Mobile. (27th May, 1769.)

No. 31. An Act to Prevent Dangers by Fire and Other Accidents in the Streets of Pensacola. (27th of May, 1769.)

No. 32. An Act to Prevent Stealing of Horses and Neat Cattle and for the More Effectual Discovery and Punishment of Such Persons as Shall Unlawfully Brand, Mark or Kill the Same. (June 8th, 1769.)

No. 33. An Act for Subjecting and Making Liable to Attachment the Estate, Real and Personal, of Absent Debtors in the Custody or Power of any Person or Persons Within this Province. 29th of May, 1769.)

No. 34. An Act to Prevent Masters of Vessels from Carrying Off Persons in Debt from this Province, for Improving the Coasting Trade, and for Repealing the Acts of this Province Therein Mentioned. (May 8, 1770.)

No. 35. An Act for Granting Unto His Majesty Certain Duties and for Appropriating the Same to Certain Purposes. (May 16th, 1770.)

No. 36. An Act to Prevent Burning the Grass and Herbage of the Woods at Improper Seasons and to Restrain Hunters from Leaving the Carcases of Deer near Plantations, and for Extending an Act of this Province Intituled An Act to Prevent Dangers by Fire and Other Accidents in the Streets of Pensacola to the Town of Mobile. (May 18, 1770.)

No. 37. An Act for Preventing Fraudulent Mortgages and Conveyances for Enabling Feme Coverts to Pass Away Their Estates, and for Making Valid Deeds of Bargain and Sale. (19th of March, 1770.)

No. 38. An Act for the Better Regulation of the Indian Trade in the Province of West Florida. (May 16th, 1770.)

No. 39. An Act to Amend and Render More Effectual the Acts Therein Mentioned. (24th of March, 1770.)

No. 40. An Act for Punishing all Persons who may Infringe any of the Treaties made with the Indians. (16th of May, 1770.)

No. 41. An Act to Indemnify the Officers or Others Commanding the Forts upon Rose Island and in the Town of Mobile from Prosecution in the Cases Therein Mentioned. (31st of March, 1770.)

No. 42. An Act to Continue an Act Intituled an Act for

Granting unto His Majesty Certain Duties and for Appropriating the Same to Certain Purposes. (27th June, 1771.)

No. 43. An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds and Other Idle and Disorderly Persons; and to Prevent Persons Hunting on the Indians' Grounds, and Trespassing on the Lands of the Crown. (July 12th, 1771.)

No. 44. An Act for Establishing the Method of Appointing Constables. (8th July, 1771.)

No. 45. An Act for the Better Regulation of Taverns and Public Houses and for Repealing An Act of the General Assembly of this Province Entitled "An Act for Granting of Licenses to Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, Imposing a Duty on said Licenses, and for Regulating of Taverns of Public Houses." (July 13, 1771.)

No. 46. An Act for Granting unto His Majesty Certain Duties and for Appropriating the Same to Certain Purposes and to Repeal an Act of the General Assembly of this Province Entitled "An Act to Continue An Act Entitled An Act for Granting unto His Majesty Certain Duties and for Appropriating the Same to Certain Purposes." (July 15, 1771.)

A Bill Entitled An Act for Establishing the Number of Representatives for the Different Towns and Districts or Shires in this Colony; for Ascertaining the Rights of the Electors and the Duration of the Assembly. (23d October, 1778.)

* THE FILSON CLUB, WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ITS PUBLICATIONS.

By REUBEN T. DURRETT, President, Louisville, Ky.

The Filson Club is an historical, biographical and literary association located in Louisville, Kentucky. It was named after John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, whose quaint little octavo of one hundred and eighteen pages was published at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784. The Club was organized May 15, 1884, and incorporated October 5, 1891, for the purpose as expressed in its charter, of collecting, preserving, and publishing the history of Kentucky and adjacent States, and cultivating a taste for historic inquiry and study among its members. While its especial field of operations was thus theoretically limited, its practical workings were confined to no locality. Each member is at liberty to choose a subject and prepare a paper and read it to the Club, among whose archives it is to be filed. From the papers thus accumulated selections are made for publication, and there have now been issued nineteen volumes or numbers of these publications. They are all paper-bound quartos, printed with pica old-style type on pure white antique paper, with broad margins, untrimmed edges, and half-toned illustrations. They have been admired both at home and abroad, not only for their original and valuable matter but also for their tasteful and comely appearance. They are not printed for sale in the commercial sense of the term, but for distribution among the members of the Club. Only limited editions to meet the wants of the Club are published, and any numbers which may be left over after the members have been supplied are exchanged with other associations or sold at about the cost of publication. The first six numbers, and the tenth number are out of print. The remainder are subject to sale at \$3.00 per volume. The following is a brief bibliography of all the Club publications to date:

1. JOHN FILSON, the first historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources prepared for The Filson Club and read at its second meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M.,

*Reproduced from published circular issued by Col. Durrett.

LL. D., President of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Filson, a FAC-SIMILE of one of his letters, and a photo-lithographic reproduction of his map of Kentucky printed at Philadelphia in 1784. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Ky., 1884. 4to, 132 pages.

2. THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for The Filson Club by Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. Illustrated with a map showing the roads of travel. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1886. 4to, 75 pages.

3. THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the daily Press, 1830. Prepared for the Filson Club by William Henry Perrin, member of the Club. Illustrated with FAC-SIMILES of pages of the Kentucky Gazette and the Farmer's Library, a view of the first printing-house in Kentucky, and likenesses of John Bradford, Shadrack Penn and George D. Prentice. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville Kentucky. 1888. 4to, 93 pages.

4. LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE, some time a Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky. By Reverend William H. Whitsitt, D. D., member of The Filson Club. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888. 4to, 151 pages.

5. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL. D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Reverend William Jackson and Reverend Edmund T. Perkins, D. D., and views of the church as first built in 1839 and as it appeared in 1889. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889. 4to, 90 pages.

6. THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY: A narrative of public events bearing on the history of the State up to the time of its admission into the American Union. By Colonel John Mason Brown, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness

the first part of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of France, and the first part of the reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England, from the year 1400 to the year 1410.

The first part of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of France, and the first part of the reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England, from the year 1400 to the year 1410.

The first part of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of France, and the first part of the reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England, from the year 1400 to the year 1410.

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The first part of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of France, and the first part of the reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England, from the year 1400 to the year 1410.

The first part of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of France, and the first part of the reign of Henry the Fourth, King of England, from the year 1400 to the year 1410.

of the author. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville; Kentucky. 1889. 4to, 263 pages.

7. **THE CENTENARY OF KENTUCKY:** Proceedings at the celebration by The Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL. D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of President Durrett, Major Stanton, Sieur LaSalle and General Clark, and FAC-SIMILES of the music and songs at the Centennial banquet. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, and John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, Kentucky, Printers. 1892. 4to, 200 pages.

8. **THE CENTENARY OF LOUISVILLE.** A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May 1, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the city of Louisville as an incorporated town under an act of the Virginia Legislature. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL. D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Colonel Durrett, Sieur LaSalle, and General Clark. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1893. 4to, 200 pages.

9. **THE POLITICAL CLUB, Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790.** Being account of an early Kentucky debating society, from the original papers recently found. By Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of The Filson Club. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1894. 4to, XII—167 pages.

10. **THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF RAFINESQUE.** Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its meeting, Monday, April 2, 1894. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D., Member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Rafinesque and FAC-SIMILES of pages of his *Fishes of the Ohio* and *Botany of Louisville*. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1895. 4to, XII—227 pages.

11. **TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.** Its origin, rise, decline and fall. Prepared for The Filson Club by Robert Peter, M. D., and his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, members of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Doctor Peter. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1896. 4to, 202 pages.

12. **BRYANT'S STATION** and the memorial proceedings held on

its site under the auspices of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., August 18, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. M., LL. D., President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with likenesses of officers of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., President Durrett, Major Stanton, Professor Ranck, Colonel Young, and Doctor Todd, and full-page views of Bryant's Station and its spring, and of the battlefield of the Blue Licks. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1897. 4to, XII—277 pages.

13. THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS OF KENTUCKY. The Journals of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1750, and of Colonel Christopher Gist, 1751. Edited by Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, Vice-President of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a map of Kentucky showing the routes of Walker and Gist throughout the State, with a view of Castle Hill, the residence of Dr. Walker, and a likeness of Colonel Johnston. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky, 1898. 4to, 256 pages.

14. THE CLAY FAMILY. Part First—The mother of Henry Clay, by Zachary F. Smith, member of The Filson Club; Part Second—The Genealogy of the Clays, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated with a full-page half-tone likeness of Henry Clay, of each of the authors, and a full-page picture of the Clay coat-of-arms; also, four full-page grouped illustrations, each containing four likenesses of members of the Clay family. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1899. 4to, VI—276 pages.

15. THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. Part First—The Battle and the Battle-Ground; Part Second—Comment of the Press; Part Third—Roll of the Army commanded by General Harrison. By Captain Albert Pirtle, member of The Filson Club. Illustrated, with a likeness of the author and likenesses of General William Henry Harrison, Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daveiss and Elks-watawa, "the Prophet," together with three full-page views and a plot of the battle-ground. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1900. 4to, XIX—158 pages.

16. BOONESBOROUGH, a pioneer town of Kentucky; Its origin, progress, decline and final extinction. By George W. Ranck, historian of Lexington, Kentucky, etc., and member of The Filson

Club. Illustrated with copious half-tone views of its site and its fort, with likenesses of the author and of Daniel Boone, and a picture of Boone's principal relics. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1901. 4to, XII—286 pages.

17. **THE OLD MASTERS OF THE BLUE GRASS.** By General Samuel W. Price, member of The Filson Club. Consisting of biographic sketches of the distinguished Kentucky artists, Matth w H. Jouett, Joseph H. Bush, John Grimes, Oliver Frazer, Louis Morgan, Joel T. Hart and Samuel W. Price, with half tone likenesses of the artists and specimens of their work. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1902. 4to, XIII—181 pages.

18. **THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES:** By Colonel Bennett H. Young, member of The Filson Club. Presenting a review of the causes which led to the battle, the preparations made for it, the scene of the conflict and the victory. Illustrated with a steel engraving of the author, half-tone likenesses of the principal actors and scenes and relics from the battlefield. To which is added an appendix containing a list of the officers and privates engaged. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1903. 4to, 288 pages.

19. **THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.** By Zachary F. Smith, member of The Filson Club. Presenting a full account of the forces engaged, the preparations made, the preliminary conflicts which led up to the final battle and the victory to the Americans on the 8th of January, 1815. Illustrated with full page likenesses of the author, of Generals Jackson and Adair, of Governors Shelby and Slaughter, and maps of the country and scenes from the battlefield. To which is added a list of Kentuckians in the battle. John P. Morton & Co., Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1904. 4to, 224 pages.

SOUTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPER FILES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY OF ALABAMA,
AT MONTGOMERY.*

Compiled By THOMAS M. OWEN, Director.

Anderson.

The Anderson Gazette. w.

Dec. 27, 1844; Feby. 27, 1845.

Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 9.

Camden.

The Camden and Lancaster Beacon. w.

June 7, 1831. n. s. Vol. I, No. 13.

Cheraw.

Farmers' Gazette. w.

Sept. 24, 1844.

Charleston.

Carolina Gazette.

Sept. 6, Nov. 23, 1831; May 30, 1832.

Union and States Rights Gazette.

Oct. 18, 1831. Vol. I, No. 2.

The Irishman Extra. n. d.

Contains only "Letter" from Rt. Rev. Doctor England to the Catholic citizens of Charleston, S. C., dated Aug. 24, 1831.

The Courier. d.

March 7, 8, June 1, 2, July 25, 26, Aug. 15, 16, 22, Sept. 20, 1831.

Nov. 14, 1838, Dec. 31, 1840. Irregular.

Bound with the *Mercury*, 1840.

Jan. 1, 1841—Dec. 31, 1842. 1 book.

Jan. 2, 1843—Dec. 31, 1844. 1 book.

Jan. 1, 1845—Dec. 31, 1846. 1 book.

Jan. 1, 1847—Dec. 29, 1848. 1 book.

Sept. 17, 1851—Sept. 17, 1853. Sundry numbers.

The Charleston Mercury. d.

July 13, 14, Aug. 3, 9, 1831.

Oct. 3, 1840—Aug. 12, 1847. Irregular.

Bound with the *Courier*, 1838.

July 2, 1851—Nov. 1, 1852. Sundry numbers.

*The collection of newspaper files in the possession of this Department is unusually large. The Alabama issues predominate, but there is a representative selection of all Southern and many Northern files. They have all been brought together since the establishment of the Department, February 27, 1901.—Editor.

The Palmetto Flag.

Oct. 22, 25, 1851. Vol. I. Nos. 16 and 17.

No more issued after No. 17.

The Southern Standard.

July 28, Aug. 1, Sept. 29, Oct. 4, 21, 1851. Jan. 12, 28, July 15, 1852.

The Evening News. d.

July 31, Dec. 15, 1851; Jan. 24, March 1, 1852.

The Sunday News.

July, 1897—April, 1898.

Columbia.

Columbia Telescope.

May 20, 1831. Vol. XVII, No. 19.

Jan. 3, 1833. Extra.

Southern Times and State Gazette. w.

Jan. 11, 1833. Vol. IV, No. 2.

South Carolina Temperance Advocate.

Sept. 12, 1839, and Nov. 28, 1844. Vol. I, No. 10, *et seq.*

Sept. 11, Oct. 2, 1851.

The Southern Chronicle. w.

July 16—Aug. 20, 1840. Vol. I, Nos. 3-8.

Dec. 18, 1844—Sept. 24, 1845. Jan. 1, 1844.

The last number bound with the *Courier*, 1838.

South Carolinian. w.

Aug. 7, 1840—Aug. 11, 1848. Vol. II, No. 49—Vol. X, No. 60.

The Palmetto State Banner.

Sept. 8, 1846. Vol. I, No. 1.

Daily States-Rights Republican. d.

May 26, July 5, Dec. 29, 1851; Jan. 3, 5, 27, 1852.

The Daily South Carolinian. d.

Dec. 8, 1852.

Edgefield.

The Carolinian. w.

March 13, 1830. Vol. II, No. 53.

Edgefield Advertiser. w.

July 24, Sept. 18, Oct. 2, 1851.

Greenville.

The Greenville Republican. w.

July 26, 1826—Aug. 11, 1827. Vol. I, No. 3, *et seq.* 1 book.

The first paper published in this town.

The Mountainer. w.

Jan. 10, 1829—Nov. 14, 1835. Vol. I, No. 1. *et seq.* 1 book.

June 21, 1834—Dec. 19, 1835. 1 book.

Jan. 9, 1836—April 19, 1844. 1 book.

Jan. 19, 1844—Oct. 29, 1847. 1 book.

Dec. 13, 1844—Oct. 18, 1850. 1 book.

Aug. 5, 19, 1852.

The Evening Star. 12x16 in.

Feb. 14, 1848.

Published by the "Ladies Fair," for the benefit of the Greenville Baptist Church.

The Weekly Southern Patriot. w.

Feb. 28, 1851—Feb. 19, 1852. Vol. I, Nos. 1-52. 1 book.

March 11, 1852—Feb. 10, 1853. 1 book.

The Tri-Weekly Southern Patriot. t. w.

April 22, 1851—Feb. 16, 1852. Vol. I, No. 1, *et seq.* 1 book.

Hamburg.

The Hamburg Journal. w.

Aug. 13, 1845. Vol. VI, No. 11.

The Republican. w.

June 19, 1851.

Lancaster.

The Lancaster Ledger. w.

June 23, 30, 1852. Vol. I, No. 21.

Laurensville.

Laurensville Herald. w.

Aug. 20, 1852.

Pendleton.

Pendleton Messenger. w.

March 30, April 6, June 22, 29, Aug. 31. Vol. XXIII, No. 8 *et seq.*

Dec. 5, 1850.

Spartanburg.

The Spartan. w.

Dec. 25, 1844. Vol. II, No. 1.

Winnsboro.

The Fairfield Herald. w.

Dec. 25, 1851; Jan. 1, 15, 1852.

Dec. 25, 1851; Jan. 1, 15, 1852.

Yorkville Miscellany. w.

July 5, 1851.

The True Remedy. w.

Jan. 15, 1852. Vol. I, No. 16.

THE WOMACK FAMILY OF GEORGIA AND ALABAMA.

By MRS. JENNIE S. PERKINS, of Washington, D. C.

The authentic genealogy of the Womack family of Georgia and Alabama commences in 1610 with Lawrence Womack, Bishop of St. Davids, England; he was second son of Charles Augustus Womack, who was a half brother to the Duke of Albemarle.

The bishop was a voluminous author, and wrote many books on theology, mostly of a controversial character. He was esteemed one of the ablest bishops of his day. He is buried in St. Margaret's Church, London, his daughter Anne being buried by his side. A handsome monument marks the place of his burial, with an inscription in Latin of which the following is a translation:

"Nearby is buried whatever mortal there was of the Reverend Father in Christ, Lawrence Womack, Bishop of St. Davids, who, after the labor of many years in the Anglican church, exchanged his gloriously worn badge for the crown of immortality on the 12th of March, 1685, aged 73. Likewise what remains of his only daughter, Anne, a virgin of nineteen, who on the 30th of the preceding October was called away to the fellowship (more glorious than any marriage) of the spirits of virgins."

Edward Womack, son of Lawrence, was born in England, March 12, 1653.

Ashley Womack, son of Edward, was born in England, August 15, 1683, and emigrated to Virginia in 1716.

Richard Womack, son of Ashley, was born December 7, 1710.

Abraham Womack, son of Richard, was born April 22, 1742.

Jacob Womack, son of Richard, was born in 1746. He was one of the members of the Wautauga Settlement; was one of the thirteen appointed to draft the form of government, and was engaged in the battle of King's Mountain.

Mansel Womack, son of Abraham, was born June 4, 1770, in Georgia, and moved to Butler county, Alabama, in 1818.

John Warburton Womack, son of Mansel, was born in Georgia October 15, 1807, and accompanied his father to Alabama in 1818,

settling at Manningham, Butler county. The place is now owned and occupied by Jacob Lewis Womack, his great nephew. John Warburton Womack married Mrs. Ann Miller Hays, who was the daughter of Woodcliffe Beville and Judith his wife, who came from Amelia county, Virginia, to Alabama. He was at one time a member of the legislature of Alabama, but declined other offices, both State and Federal. He was a graduate of the University of Georgia at Athens, and of the University of Alabama, and was one of the most distinguished lawyers of the State. He died at his home in Eutaw, Greene county, August 29, 1863. His wife was a descendant of Lieutenant-General de Beville, a French officer who served on the staff of General Rochambeau in the American Revolution, and of his son Chevalier de Beville, who was also on the staff of Gen. Rochambeau. The son remained in Virginia after the Revolution. The issue of the marriage of John Warburton Womack and Ann Miller Hays, nee Beville, were: Lowndes Womack, who was a soldier in the Confederate army; he was quartermaster sergeant in the Army of Tennessee. He was born in Alabama, and died there. Sidney Womack, who was a lieutenant in the regular Confederate army, and on the staff of Brigadier General Marcus J. Wright. He was also born in Alabama and died there. Pauline Womack, who married General Marcus J. Wright, of Tennessee, and Octavia Womack, both of whom reside in Washington City.

General Marcus J. Wright, who married Pauline Womack, is descended from a line of men whose military prowess is a part of the history of our common country. His grandfather, Capt. John Wright, commanded in the Revolutionary War a company known as the "Georgia Line." His father, Col. Benjamin Wright, was born near Savannah, Georgia, April 2, 1784. Soon after the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain in June, 1812, Benjamin Wright was appointed a lieutenant in the army by President Madison. He was soon thereafter detailed for the recruiting service, in which he was very successful. Upon the breaking out of the Creek War in the summer of 1813, he took an active part, and distinguished himself for gallantry in the battle of the Horse Shoe. He was promoted several times, reaching eventually to a field officer. In the war with Mexico he served under General Scott.

Marcus J. Wright espoused the cause of the South at the beginning of the Civil War, and soon became distinguished for his ability as an organizer and leader. General Grant, who confronted his command at the battle of Shiloh and noted its stubborn resistance, asked and obtained the name of his Napoleonic opponent, predicting that he would yet be placed in command of a brigade. Later he was created a brigadier-general, was appointed military governor of Columbus, Kentucky, and was in active service till the close of the struggle.

Gen. Wright's life has been one of ceaseless activity since the war ended. A tribute to his great abilities and wide knowledge of military men and affairs in the South, was his selection by the United States Government as Agent for the Collection of Confederate Records, to prepare material for the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies." This vast work of more than a hundred large volumes required his unremitting labors for more than twenty years, and is a lasting monument to his painstaking zeal, research and industry. In the meantime he has written and published several widely read books and contributed to the leading magazines, besides carrying on a voluminous correspondence and attending to the many social duties inseparable from his position.

One of the most striking characteristics is his affectionate loyalty to the people of his native section; and the labor of love nearest his heart is the erection of a handsome monument in McNairy county Tennessee, where he was born, on which are inscribed the few hundred names of its earliest citizens. This he expects to have completed and dedicated with appropriate ceremonies during the coming Spring.

The issue of the marriage of Gen. Marcus J. Wright and Pauline Womack, are:

John Womack Wright, who was born in Missouri during the temporary residence there of his parents. He was educated in the preparatory school of the Columbian University of Washington, and at William and Mary College in Virginia, afterwards entering the law school of Columbian University. He entered the volunteer army of the United States in the Spanish war as first lieutenant of the Fifth Volunteer Infantry, and was mustered out as captain.

He was appointed second lieutenant of the 5th United States regular infantry, and was promoted to first lieutenant. He was adjutant of the Fifth Volunteer Regiment, and disbursing officer of the Province of Santiago under Gen. Leonard Wood. He served four years in Cuba, and one year in the Philippines. Howard Paul Wright, born in Washington, D. C., educated in the public schools of Washington, and in the private school of the National Capital University School. He is engaged in the office of the Southern Railroad Company in Washington. Pauline Casey Wright, the only daughter, was born in Washington D. C., and resides with her parents. She is a favorite member of Washington's most select circles, and inherits the literary tastes of her distinguished ancestry.

A branch of the above mentioned Womack family, and closely allied to it, descended from John Howard Dillard Womack. His father was James Womack, who came to this country from England and settled in North Carolina, moving thence to Tennessee.

John Howard Dillard Womack was born in Tennessee, moving from there to Georgia, where he married Sara McKennie. After their marriage they removed to Marengo county, Alabama. He died in Dallas county, Alabama, in the 69th year of his age. He was a lawyer, and judge of the court for many years. His children were Elizabeth, Lucy, and Capt. John Foster Womack who died unmarried during the war. Sara Elizabeth married W. H. Couch, and they had three children, the eldest of whom, Texana, married W. M. Etheridge. Bettie C. married D. R. Van Pelt. John Womack married Miss Izard, of Arkansas. Texana Couch Womack Etheridge had four children: Elizabeth, who married Peter McIntyre; Annie Foster Etheridge, who married Sydney Johnston Bowie, who has for four years represented the Fourth District of Alabama in Congress; Emma Love Etheridge, who married N. E. Sinclair, and Marone Etheridge, now a schoolboy.

DOCUMENTS.

The following letter from General R. E. Lee to President Jefferson Davis has been kindly furnished by Charles Edgeworth Jones, Esq., of Augusta, Georgia. It is supposed never to have been published before.

1. LETTER FROM GEN. LEE TO PRESIDENT DAVIS:

Camp Orange Ct H., 23 Sept '63.

His Exc'y Jeffn Davis,

Pres: Conf States—Richmond.

Mr President:—

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 21st inst:—I was rejoiced yesterday to learn by a dispatch from the War Dept: of the complete victory gained by Genl Bragg. I hope he will be able to follow it up, to concentrate his troops, and operate on the enemy's rear. I infer from the accounts I have seen that Buckner had not joined him. Unless he is opposing a superior force to his own, he ought at once to unite with Bragg, that he may push the advantage gained. If that can be done, Longstreet can successfully move to Tennessee, open that country where Sam Jones can unite with him, and thence rejoin me.—No time ought now to be lost or wasted. Everything should be done that can be done at once, so that the troops may be speedily returned to this Dept: As far as I can judge, they will not get here too soon. The enemy is aware of Longstreet's departure. They report in their papers the day he passed through Augusta, and give the positions of Ewell's and Hill's Corps. Genl Meade is strengthening himself daily. Our last scouts report the return of the troops sent North to enforce the draft. Nine trains loaded with troops reached Culpepper Thursday night. Three trains arrived on Monday, and three on Tuesday last, in addition to between four and five thousand by marching. It was apparently expected by the enemy that we would abandon the line of the Rapidan on his approach. His advance seems to be delayed by doubts as to our strength from the maintenance of our position. His reconnoitering parties and Calvary are busy in observation. During Monday and Tuesday he quietly massed his Cav'y on his right, and moved through Madison to turn our left.—Gregg came down the road to Orange Ct House by Barnett's ford,

Kilpatrick the road by Liberty Mills, and Buford the road by Barboursville leading to Gordonsville. Genl Stuart with our division of Cav'y guarding our left flank, opposed so obstinately the progress of these three divisions of the enemy, that he brought them to a halt last night at Rapidan. By that time Genl Fitz Lee had hastened from the right and joined him. During the night, the enemy commenced to retire. Genl Stuart showed his usual energy, his route back to Culpepper. I presume his next attempt will be on our right, unless he determines to move his whole army around our left to Gordonsville. Genl. Stuart showed his usual energy, promptness and boldness in his operations yesterday. Keeping with the front line of his troops, his horse was shot under him.—Citizens report the enemy's loss heavy.—I hope ours is not large. I have only heard of the death of Col: Rodgers of N. C. Scales' Brigade, who was killed by a shell at Barnett's ford, and of Lt Col: Deloney of the Cav'y wounded.

I am with great respect

Your obt Servt

R. E. Lee

Genl.

P. S.—From the details brought by the train today of the Battle of Chickamauga, I see that Buckner had united with Bragg.—I am grieved to learn the death of Genl Hood.—I fear also from the accounts that Genl Wofford is dead.—He was one of Georgia's best soldiers. I am gradually losing my best men—Jackson, Pender, Hood. There was no braver soldier in the Confederate army than Deshler.—I see he is numbered among the dead.

R. E. L.

DOCUMENTS.

II. NICARAGUAN CANAL PROPOSED IN 1826.

The following letter will doubtless prove very interesting in view of the present status of the Isthmian Canal movement. The writer, John Williams (son of Col. Jos. Williams of the Revolutionary Army, and wife, Elizabeth Lanier) was born in Surry County, N. C., January 29, 1778; received a liberal education; studied law and began practice at Knoxville, Tenn.; served as colonel in the war of 1812 under General Jackson; elected a United States Senator from Tennessee (vice G. W. Campbell, resigned) from 1815-1823; appointed charge d' affaires to Central America 1825-

25; member of the State Senate; died near Knoxville, Tenn., August 10, 1837.

This letter has been communicated by Wm. D. Williams, Jr., of Knoxville, Tenn., a grandson of Dr. Alexander Williams, one of the addressees. Similar evidences of Mr. Williams' interest in Southern history will be found in this *Magazine*, Vol. I., May, 1903, pp. 443-4, and Vol. II., November, 1903, pp. 204-214.

Guatamala, May 30th 1826. ,

Mr. Wm. Dickson &
Dr. Alex. Williams.

On the 23rd of last March I sailed from Hampton Roads on the ship John Adams- On the same evening we met the equinoxial gale, which continued for five or six days with much violence. This was my first excursion to sea- The terrors of a storm at sea have been greatly overrated by mariners- We touched at Matanzas and Havana on the Island of Cuba- At Truxello on the continent & landed at Amoa, my post (or port) of destination on the 17th of April- I dispatched the ship John Adams on the 19th for Cartagena- On the 20th sailed in a small schooner I had chartered thro' the bottom of the bay of Honduras into the Gulph of Dulce & landed at Isabol on the 21st; distant from Amoa 150 miles- I remained at Amoa as short a time as possible- it is a perfect grave yard & is fatal to many strangers- On the 23rd I left Isabol mounted on a mule and a Spanish saddle the like of which neither of you have ever seen- And on the 2nd of May arrived in this city, distant from Amoa 210 miles- I was detained one day for the want of transportation- You will say this was slow traveling- But I assure you I started nearly every morning at 2 or 3 o'clock & traveled industriously & performed the trip in about half the time usually taken- I never traveled less than 18 nor more than 30 miles per day- I doubt whether there is so bad a road in the world where human creatures pass- There has been but little rain since December- The clouds of dust, want of water, and vertical rays of a blazing sun rendered the journey disagreeable- The country thro which I passed is an alteration of high mountains mostly without timber & rich valleys- For seven days it was excessively hot- The air was like the atmosphere of an oven & was difficult of respiration- This City is situated in latitude 14 North, in a valley of rich land & in a most delightful climate- The inhabitants scarcely know a change of temperature during the year- The weather reminds me

of one of our best May days- There is one continued vernal season- Yet the people do not live to a great age- Within 20 leagues there is every climate- In six leagues & in view is the great Volcano called here the Volcano de Agua, which destroyed the old city of Guatemala, from which this city is supplied within- Within a few leagues from thence on the shores of the Pacific is to be found the climate of Africa under the Equator- The Volcano is estimated at 14 or 15,000 feet high- The population of this city is perhaps 50,000- The streets are 36 feet wide, well paved with limestone with a rivulet in the centre of each street- There are about 40 churches & 4 or 500 Priests of the different orders- Most of the churches are magnificent buildings- Some of them it is said cost more than two millions of dollars and few of them less than \$50,000. The houses are low with thick walls to resist the earth quakes- There is a neatness and uniformity in this city which I have never seen equaled- Rents are moderate- The house I occupy has 10 rooms, stable, etc, with two fountains of water & a piazza of 156 feet- I pay for it \$25. per month- I was the first Minister ever received at this Court- The Government made considerable preparations & gave me a splendid reception- General Morales, Minister from Columbia, arrived a few days after I did- The United States stand first in the affections of these people- Colo. Beneshe (or Baneske) formerly of the French Army but now the Agent of a New York Company has obtained the contract to make a ship Communication between the North and South Seas thro' the Lake Nicaragua- There is no doubt of the practicability of this enterprise- The lake is connected with the Atlantic by the river St. John which is now navigable for large ships except at a few places where sand bars are formed & which can easily be removed- A canal of 14 miles thro' low clay ground from the lake to the Pacific will complete the communication- The English were extremely anxious to obtain this work- Their agents are here yet- Colo. Beneshe thinks my arrival contributed to his success- It is fortunate for the commerce & navigation of the United States that this channel has not fallen into British hands- The completion of this work will give a new direction to the commerce of the world- And whilst the contract will be highly beneficial to the Government it cannot fail to be a source of great profit to the con-

tractors- They are to get 10 per cent on the amount expended & other advantages equal to that scale-

I contemplate visiting the United States next winter- If I should I will probably reach Tennessee early in February- Remember me kindly to your two better halves- Say to Mrs Dickson some rogue between Isabol & this place stole the spectacles she gave me- Present my respects also to Mr. John Dickson & his lady- I should like to know how you come on farming- I expect my wife will beat both of you- I have not heard one word from the U. States since I left it- I am looking for the arrival of news with great solicitude-

With great respect, your Humble Servant-

John Williams.

Messrs Dickson & Williams.

P. S. The canal contract was procrastinated from day to day & from week to week & was not finally executed until this day- Colo. Beneshe will start for New York in a few days & will take charge of this letter.

John Williams.

June 16, 1826.

DOCUMENTS.

III. LETTER FROM A. HANSON, of Monrovia, Africa, to Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin. Mr. Hanson was sent to Africa to help in colonizing the negroes from the United States. The letter is furnished by courtesy of Duane Mowry, Esq., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Monrovia, Liberia, W. C. of Africa, April 30th, 1863.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,

U. S. Senator, &c., &c.,

Dear Sir:—An opportunity offers by the departure from this port, of the Brig "Ann," for New York, to send you a line. I wish to inform you of my welfare. From the time of my arrival on this coast, Aug. 16, '62, until Feb. 22nd, '63, I was free from disease. On the date last mentioned the African fever attacked me in a mild form, but, passing over the intervals, I have to state that on the 13th inst. I bowed my head under the third, and most fierce and terrible visitation of that dreadful malady. By the mercy of our Father in heaven I have been restored from a state of physical

prostration, so extreme, that two physicians pronounced recovery doubtful. I am daily gaining strength, and, after confinement to the home for 18 days, it will be refreshing, in a day or two, to get out and inhale the *balmy* air!

I do not regret coming to Liberia. As a promising field of useful toil—to a man of correct principles and humane and generous sympathies—it is all that I conceived it to be. True, a residence here involves sacrifices which I will not now enumerate, but there is not a place on earth, I apprehend, where *work* of this nature is to be done which does not call for some sort of self-denial. Hence I do not utter a complaint.

The question of my remaining here is one which I can not yet settled. The conviction that I had a constitutional adaptation to this climate has been somewhat shaken, and now, the judgment of intelligent friends here would induce the conclusion that my stay must be brief. There is one point which is settled to my satisfaction, i. e., I cannot consistently remain at my present salary. The bills of physicians, unavoidable contingent & regular personal expenses, will fully absorb my \$1,000.00 per annum, besides which, I have a family at home. From the comparative indigence of this people, there is scarcely any one who will move a step, or raise a hand, without exorbitant pay, and the white man, above all others, must become tributary to their numerous wants. The more intelligent & independent class do not usually engage in those acts of kindness & ministrations to the sick-sojourner, which are so freely bestowed by our people at home. Hence, you can see that the hiring must be called in. I make some allowance for this state of things upon the ground that our general treatment of this race of people has been such as to impose a restraint upon them, and now, under the most inviting circumstances, they are not entirely free from diffidence and distrust. Another palliating consideration is that the unreasonable profits made by white merchants upon provisions and other commodities brought to this coast, drives them (the citizens of Liberia) to charge for work done, or service rendered, prices that are above, & contrary to all reason.

I have intimated, in plain terms, in a special dispatch upon the subject to the Department of State, my utter inability to meet my expenses from my salary. I have explained that engaging in

trade, in addition to my official relation, would seriously interfere with my efficiency as a servant of my government, and, in consequence of my being confined to one place might result very disastrously to myself. I have also said that one person, invested with proper functions, can, for sometime to come represent our government at this court, and perform all the consular & other duties;—and thus he might be placed upon a scale of support which would afford full indemnity for comfortable maintenance, leaving out of the question the expenses of transit and the great risk of life, &c., &c. Thus I have done all that self-respect will allow for the purpose of inducing a change.

Please do not regard the foregoing as indicating a desire to have you assume any more perplexing care on my account. I have no doubt but you have done for me, or for Liberia, all that consistency would allow. I will venture to express this wish, viz: that some action may be taken in regard to Liberia, that since our gov't has decided to open diplomatic intercourse, & the appropriation of \$4,000. has been made for one year's salary of a commissioner, this may not all remain a dead letter. Hayti & Liberia have been associates in the act of recognition. All the provisions in regard to Hayti have been carried out. Not *one* in regard to Liberia, except the ratification of a treaty of friendship & commerce, & even of that, your agent here has not had the slightest official intimation. Liberia has her Consul General in the U. S. Our government has only a commercial agent in Liberia, with no legitimate authority to communicate directly with the Liberian government.

I beg you will not understand me as pleading for myself. I am anxious that my government should be consistent, and that proper respect should be accorded to Liberia. If the wisdom of the Dept. of State selects & appoints some other person than myself to fill the offices here it will be one of the most cheerful acts of my life to retire and return home.

I have fallen upon an unexpected topic in this communication—pardon me—and now let me say that, for Africans & their descendants, Liberia—expanding as she is—presents a rich inheritance, sacredly set apart and carefully guarded, by an inscrutably mysterious providence for their possession and enjoyment. A cor-

rect knowledge of its inexhaustible resources, its free institutions & its glorious destiny, it seems to me, is all that is needed to induce hundreds of thousands of the colored population of the U. S. to flock eagerly to these shores. The climate is generally salubrious, the temperature remarkably uniform. I have not observed a variation, day nor night, since January 1st, of more than from 5 degrees to 7 degrees; the thermometer ranging not higher than 85 degrees or 87 degrees Fahrenheit, in the shade, and during the rainy season ending about Dec. 1, '62, I never saw the thermometer below 60 degrees Fahrenheit. The soil is luxuriant, vegetation starts up as if by magic, fruit bountiful & ripe drops on the ground. The trees are clothed in perpetual verdure. Majestic rivers & magnificent landscapes cover the face of the country. Sugar & coffee plantations greet the eye on the banks of the St. Paul's, St. John's, and other rivers, & in every settlement encouraging omens are to be seen in all directions, and the inexplicable wonder to me is, that with all the agencies & facilities of the Colonization Societies of the U. States, for diffusing information amongst the colored people of America; with all the means within reach of our government of becoming acquainted with the wealth and grandeur of this land, the people interested, or the government, should spend time in working for another home! Do they not believe what is told them?

But I must close, physical debility will not allow me to indulge in long letters. May I not hope to have a few lines from you? The Brig "Ann" will be in New York two or three weeks after you receive this, and any communication for me, sent to the care of Yates & Porterfield, 115 Wall st., New York, will be cheerfully brought out by Captain Yates, a right loyal Union-loving man.

Do not think, that because I have not dwelt upon the condition of our beloved country, I am, therefore, uninformed, or uninterested. It is the subject of my anxious thought and earnest solicitude, by day & by night. But it is a subject upon which I can not tell you anything—your heart is full of it.

With kind remembrances to all friends, I am, with great respect and sincere gratitude,

Yours, obediently,

A. HANSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HAWKINS MANUSCRIPTS WANTED.—Benjamin Hawkins, son of Philemon and Delia (*Martin*) Hawkins, was born in old Bute (now Warren) County, N. C., August 15, 1754, and died at his residence in the Creek Indian Nation, while serving as an Indian Agent, June 6, 1816. Col. Hawkins had a long and useful public career. His papers and manuscripts are of considerable historical value, and are preserved in the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah. Inasmuch as the most valuable portions of these manuscripts relate to the Southern Indians, and thereby bear upon the early history of parts of the territory now included in Alabama, the Department of Archives and History of Alabama contemplates their publication.

If this is done, it is desirable that the collection should be as complete as possible. I will therefore appreciate copies of any and all Hawkins letters, papers and documents not embraced in the collection of the Georgia Historical Society. All papers sent will be carefully preserved and promptly returned. If originals can not be sent, I will be glad to have my attention called to their location. Collectors, students, librarians, descendants of old families and others, will confer a favor by assisting me.

THOMAS M. OWEN, *Director*.

Department of Archives and History.

Montgomery, Ala., December 31, 1903.

UNPUBLISHED LEE LETTERS.—Permission has been granted by the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia to D. W. Thom, of Baltimore, to publish the Lee letters now in the possession of the University.

TOMB OF PRESIDENT TAYLOR.—It is reported in the newspaper press that the tomb of President Zachary Taylor, familiarly known as "Rough and Ready," situated about five miles from Louisville, is rapidly falling into decay. For a half century the tomb has been neglected until now it presents a weather-beaten, desolate appearance. Few visitors ever go out to the spot, and no key has turned the rusty lock for fifty years.

HISTORICAL NEWS

TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, U. D. C.—The Tenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was held in Charleston, S. C., November 11-14, 1903. Mrs. Augustin T. Smyth, of Charleston, was elected president for the ensuing year.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT AT CHARLOTTESVILLE.—The Ladies' Memorial Association of Charlottesville are preparing to erect on the grounds of the University of Virginia a bronze tablet bearing the names of the four hundred alumni and students of that institution who fell in the service of the Confederacy.

DEATH OF COL. SANDS.—Col. Robert Martin Sands died in Mobile, Ala., November 17, 1903, and is buried in the Magnolia Cemetery. He was the last Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Alabama Regiment, C. S. A., and during the later part of the war commanded the regiment. At the time of his death he was the oldest representative of the Southern branch of the Sands family. See this *Magazine*, March, 1903, Vol. I, pp. 352-354 for genealogy.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REUNION UNITED SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS.—The Eighth Annual Reunion of the General Confederation, U. S. C. V., was held at New Orleans, La., May 19-22, 1903. The Thirteenth Annual Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans was held at the same time. The occasion was highly stimulating to the patriotic, historical and benevolent purposes of these organizations. The attendance was large and satisfactory. Wm. McL. Fayssoux, of New Orleans, was elected Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. C. V. The *Minutes* of the Reunion have recently been issued in pamphlet form (8vo, pp. 112, *illustrated*). See this *Magazine*, Vol. I, 1902-'03, pp. 163-4.

MONUMENT TO MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIERS ERECTED AT VICKSBURG.—On the afternoon of November 14, 1903, was unveiled the monument erected in the Vicksburg National Military Park to the memory of Massachusetts soldiers who participated in the engagements in and around that historic point. Gov. John L. Bates and other prominent Massachusetts visitors were present. Included in the party was Mrs. Alice Ruggles Kitson, of Boston, who designed the monument.

MONUMENT TO OHIO SOLDIERS ERECTED AT MISSIONARY RIDGE.—The monument erected on Missionary Ridge to the memory of Ohio's troops,

who participated in the battle at that point, was dedicated November 12, 1903. Fully five hundred veterans, members of the Loyal Legion and others, headed by Gov. George K. Nash, Lieut. Gov. Gordon, and other State officials of Ohio, were present, as were also Gen. A. P. Stewart and other Confederates. Gov. Nash presented the monument to the United States in a fitting speech, after it had been turned over to him by Maj. W. F. Goodspeed, of the Ohio monument commission. Gen. E. C. Corbin, commanding the department of the east, received the monument on behalf of the government. Gen. Wheeler, of Chattanooga, spoke on behalf of the Ohio residents of that city, and Gen. H. V. Boynton and Lieut. Gov. Gordon, of Ohio, delivered orations. Three troops of the seventh cavalry, from Camp Thomas, acted as escort to the party on their six-mile ride from Chattanooga to Chickamauga, and the regimental band furnished music for the exercises. The monument stands near Gen. Braxton Bragg's headquarters.

MEMORIAL TABLET UNVEILED AT OLD CHURCH AT PETERSBURG.—Within the historic walls of old Blandford church, at noon, November 12, 1903, was unveiled a handsome marble tablet which had been placed on the south wall of the church by the Francis Bland Randolph Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of that city, to the memory of the patriots of the Revolutionary war. The tablet is of Italian marble, and bears this inscription, which was written by Francis Rives Lassiter, of Petersburg:

"In memory of the patriots who planned, upheld and achieved the independence of the United States of America."

Mayor W. M. Jones presided, and the exercises consisted of prayer, by Rev. O. S. Bunting, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal church, singing of "America," and an address by Rev. J. S. Foster, pastor of Tabb Street Presbyterian Church. The tablet, which was hidden from view by a large United States flag, was unveiled by little Elizabeth Drewry. At night the Daughters of the American Revolution held a brilliant reception at the rooms of the Petersburg Club.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society was held on the evening of Tuesday, December 22, 1903, in the city council chamber in the city of Montgomery. Governor Jelks was re-elected president, and Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, was re-elected secretary and treasurer. There was a large and representative audience of members and visitors. Governor Jelks, the president of the Society, presided. The feature of the meeting was an address by Col. M. L. Woods, of Montgomery. Promptly at 8:15 p. m., the president called the session to order, and a short invocation was offered by Rev. Stewart McQueen.

Governor Jelks followed by a narrative of the work accomplished by the Society in the past, and a patriotic and earnest appeal to those

interested in the history of the State, to aid the Society in accomplishing its worthy objects. "These objects commend themselves to you all," said he, "for if you do not care for the heroic deeds of your fathers you will be unworthy of them."

Secretary Owen called the roll of the members resident in the city, and the meeting was declared ready for business.

Professor George W. Duncan, of Auburn, moved the appointment by the president of a committee of three on nominations to report during the latter part of the session. The motion was carried, and Professor Duncan, Judge Thomas Bradford and Dr. W. H. Sanders were named as the committee.

The secretary for the executive committee submitted a draft of a new constitution. After it had been read at length, on motion of Captain R. Tyler Goodwyn, it was adopted in full.

The reports of the secretary and treasurer were read and referred to the executive committee. The work of the Society since the annual meeting was set forth, with plans for the future work of the organization. Among other plans proposed is the plan for regular monthly meetings of the Society, beginning in January, 1904. The report showed the loss of the following members by death since the last annual meeting: Tennent Lomax, Esq., Prof. Jacob Forney, Leonidas Howard, Henry H. Browne, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, John W. Perkins, William Crawford Bibb, Captain Robert Goldthwaite, Gen. R. C. Jones and Col. M. L. Stansel.

Colonel Michael L. Woods, of Montgomery, then presented the annual address, his subject being "Personal Reminiscences of Col. Albert James Pickett." Colonel Wood's paper was full of interesting facts and memoranda of a personal nature concerning Colonel Pickett. The many-sided activity of Colonel Pickett was dwelt upon, with personal facts and incidents. The paper will form a valuable addition to the information extant concerning Alabama's first historian. At the conclusion of the address, a rising vote of thanks was tendered Colonel Woods, on motion, of Dr. George Petrie, of Auburn.

Dr. U. B. Phillips, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin, was present and was called on for a talk. He responded in a very forcible and interesting talk on historical work in the South, its importance, attractiveness and development. Dr. Phillips is a Georgian, thoroughly in love with the history of his section, and at the same time widely versed in it. He is engaged in extensive researches in the history of the plantation system of the South, in its social and economic relations to history. His remarks were received with applause.

The secretary announced that a special train, bearing the members of the American Historical Association en route to New Orleans, would reach Montgomery Sunday evening, December 27, at 9:30 o'clock, and would be in the city two hours. During that time arrangements had been made

to carry the party to the State capitol, which would be illuminated. All members of the Society were urged to be at the capitol to meet the visitors. In the party will be the most distinguished historians of the country.

Professor Duncan, for the special committee on nomination of officers for 1904, made its report, and the following were elected unanimously: President, Governor Jelks. Vice-Presidents, Dr. Reuben Henry Duggar, Gallion; Thomas Chalmers McCovey, Professor of History and Philosophy, University of Alabama; Colonel Samuel Will John, Birmingham; Chas. Coleman Thach, President Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn; Peter J. Hamilton, Mobile; Oliver Day Street, Guntersville; Rev. Stewart McQueen, Montgomery; Clifford Anderson Lanier, Montgomery; Mrs. Kate Hutcheson Morrisette, Montgomery. Secretary and Treasurer, Thomas McAdory Owen, Montgomery. Executive Committee, Thomas M. Owen, chairman ex-officio; Michael Leonard Woods, Montgomery; Dr. George Petrie, Professor of History, A. P. I., Auburn; Professor Joel Campbell DuBose, Birmingham; Robert Tyler Goodwyn, Montgomery; William Hardwick Ruth, Montgomery; John Talbert Letcher, Montgomery.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. McQueen, was on motion unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That we, the members of the Alabama Historical Society, do most earnestly commend the organization to the favorable consideration and interest of the people of this commonwealth, that its purposes may be realized in all their perfection and permanency, thus serving as an abiding inspiration to our children and children's children to emulate in their lives and character all that is good and noble in the history of our State."

The Secretary announced that the first of the monthly meetings would be held in January, and urged all members to attend.

The meeting, at 10 o'clock, adjourned.

BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Thomas E. Watson. D. Appleton & Company, Publishers, New York. (8vo. pp. xxii and 534, illustrated.)

In *Life and Times of Jefferson*, Mr. Watson shows by his interpretation of the inner life of the great man a keen insight into the small details of every day life which are, when properly explained, greater than some of his greater achievements. In fact, when we come to know the man as he was, we no longer worship him as the hero, but in the light of a friend, and not as an unapproachable superior being. The work, on account of its details, with original and matured thoughts, sometimes digressive, yet suggestive of a wide range in historical knowledge, is valuable. History, when composed of a collection of bare facts, without polish and sentiment, may be liked best by the historian, but for the general reader it must be clothed in a readable style, not only for entertainment, but because most readers prefer to have an opinion rendered by a competent interpreter, rather than to form an opinion for themselves. It is to be regretted that Mr. Watson has in so personal a manner created the impression that other biographers of Jefferson were quite unreliable—especially Mr. Curtis. He may be quite right in asserting that Mr. Curtis made errors, but he may not have been malicious in doing so. The work is an able defense of the South's part in the heroic struggle, and it is to the discredit of Northern historians that her share in the honor has not been given her. Northerners, weighing the seemingly implied animosity toward Northern writers, and believing that they have history more reliable and as free from prejudice, will not be convinced of its truthfulness. Outside of these faults, if faults they may be called, it is a good work. It shows the men who have been raised to heights above ordinary men to have been individuals belonging to the common brotherhood of erring humanity. The style is free from rhetorical displays, yet it is pleasing in its simplicity, and at times sublime. It unearths forgotten lore, and to show the true greatness of Jefferson, it gives history which other historians thought to be insignificant.

E. B. HARDIN, M. D.

From the *Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1903.

WATSON'S JEFFERSON.

Mr. Watson has broadened our study of Jefferson. He has exposed more of the man to view. He has planted a new light upon the majestic peak that already stood high above the towering mountains upon the horizon of American history.

There is no purpose here to say much about the book. There is a strange feature of it and if the many who read it, intending to cultivate the science of the American idea, may give due attention to the apparent collision of the author with his hero upon high ground, enough will have been done in this place. Mr. Watson is an enthusiast in the teaching of a philosophy, Jefferson's, which he virtually avows was badly taught by a philosopher, Thomas Jefferson. We find an astute attempt to qualify and moderate the reader's inevitable confusion of

expectation in the one or more chapters describing most graphically the processes through which the Convention of 1787 reached the culmination of its work in a Constitution for the United States. In mention of these wonderful things, the author says:

"Two of the youngest members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 went there with ready-made Constitutions in their pockets. Alexander Hamilton carried one and Edmund Randolph the other." (p. 297). Commenting upon these, the only two pocket-ready constitutions mentioned, he says of Hamilton's, "it was so frankly aristocratic and monarchical, in body and soul, that it was incontinently set aside," and of Randolph's, it was "in form Republican, in spirit far from Democratic." Why monarchical? Why far from Democratic? Because not Jeffersonian, as we shall see. What was the Jefferson idea? The ultimate Republic of Republics. Mr. Watson includes a positive faith in the political philosophy of Jefferson while he renounces with emphasis trenching upon fierceness the principles of American organization, the practiced methods of American government, which Jefferson taught as fundamental. It is not quite necessary to put on a page to itself that two young men carried in their pockets ready-made anti-Republican constitutions to Philadelphia, leaving the careless reader to suspect that these two only did carry such preparation along with them and that anti-Republican sentiment was thus placed demonstrably in the ascendant.

Why not name the third young man and his pocketful? Randolph from Virginia was 34 years of age. Hamilton from New York, 30, and Charles Pinckney, from South Carolina was 25 years of age. On Tuesday, May 29, the Convention having been organized and declared ready for business, Mr. Randolph offered his plan and on the same day Mr. Pinckney offered his plan. On June 16, Randolph's plan having been discussed and rejected, Mr. Patterson of New Jersey, offered his plan, which was in effect to preserve the Union under the then existing Articles of Confederation, so amended as to correct the discovered defects. That was essentially Jefferson's preference. Pinckney's plan, nowhere mentioned by Mr. Watson, nor the man even named, was, in its vital points, Jeffersonian.

On June 18, Hamilton spoke at great length. At the conclusion of his speech he presented his "plan," saying he "did not mean to offer the paper he had sketched as a proposition to the Committee. He meant to give only a more correct view of his ideas," etc.

Thus we see the anti-Jefferson theory was advanced by Randolph and Hamilton while the Jeffersonian theory was contended for by Pinckney and Patterson, each within specific limits. It is necessary to understand the scope of the deliberations of the Convention. To speak only of the plans of Randolph and Hamilton as presenting a scheme of government is a literary lapse. Reduced to the last analysis of the situation, the Convention of 1787 must have adopted one of three distinct schemes of government, if any, (1) the limited monarchy; (2) a national government of the numerical majority; (3) a federal government, that is to say a Republic of Republics. Mr. Jefferson believed the Federal system alone capable of preserving the principles of liberty set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Watson differs from his hero in that view. We are told that when Mr. Jefferson heard for the first time, in Paris, what the Conventions had done, "he was not certain that the good articles preponderated over the bad." (p. 303.) So he advised that only nine States should ratify, enough to get the government into operation. The four States remaining outside could then dictate amendments as the terms of

their accession to the Union, and these amendments should be a kind of Bill of Rights, such as the first ten actually constitute.

Mr. Watson argues that the theory of a Republic of Republics was a cute trick to escape the genuine Democratic principles, a national government by the numerical majority. Washington, the President of the Convention, was so poor a Democrat that he lived in chagrin that the law paid a common soldier any wages at all; that the law limited his authority to lay lashes upon a common soldier's back to the number of one hundred, whereas five hundred would not be an excessive limit. He says the Federal theory is equivalent to a government by "privileged classes." He says "men whose determination is to create a centralized government in which the form of Democracy is preserved, while all power belongs to the privileged classes, could not, under all the circumstances, have framed an instrument better suited to the purpose than the Constitution of the United States." Already he said: "Men whose purpose it is to establish a Democracy, a government of the people, for the people, by the people, do not go about it in that way."

But what were "all the circumstances" at Philadelphia? George III., once proprietor, had declared his thirteen colonies independent States, one by one, each after its own name, even as Portugal, Spain, France, Prussia, Holland were to him independent States. These American States in convention decided they would not be a nation, governed either after Hamilton's plan of elective monarchy, or Randolph's plan of national majority. What next? Eleven per cent. of the population of the United States now own 54 per cent. of the assets. It won't do to say that demonstration of the power of "privileged classes" is the logical result of election of Senators by State Legislatures, election of a President by State electoral colleges, or the creation of a Supreme Court by the President and the Senate.

The practical test of the contention of Mr. Watson is in the State governments created by the people, and in the Federal House of Representatives, created by the people of the States. There is a more startling radicalism in the direct majority vote than in the moderated vote of the Senate upon every question related to privileged classes. Did not the House of Representatives vote three times the Spanish war tax that the Senate accepted? Has not the South been threatened with a bill to reduce Southern representation, while the Senate has no such menace? Did not the House in the most critical juncture the country ever endured present the President for impeachment, while the Senate saved him and saved the land from anarchy unmeasured? There has hardly been a case decided by the Supreme Court during the last thirty-five years favorable to good government in the South, that the House of Representatives at Washington would have decided in the same way. JOHN WITHERSPOON DUBOSE.

LUCRETIA BORGIA. By Ferdinand Gregorovidele: translated by John Leslie Garner. D. Appleton & Company, Publishers, New York. (8vo. pp xxiii-378, *illustrated*.)

The subject of the work, Lucretia Borgia, about whose historic personality there clings such a subtle interest, has been treated by the author in a somewhat apologetic spirit. She who is more often thought of as steeped in the same cesspool of wickedness as her brother Cæsar and her father Rodrigo (Pope Alexander VI), is here presented as more sinned against than sinning. We view her through a haze of romance as possessing all the charms and graces, yet the victim of the most malign influences. Under the domination of a profligate father and a cruel and ambitious brother, whose crimes committed in furtherance of their evil designs caused the world of even that day to stand aghast, Lucretia was used

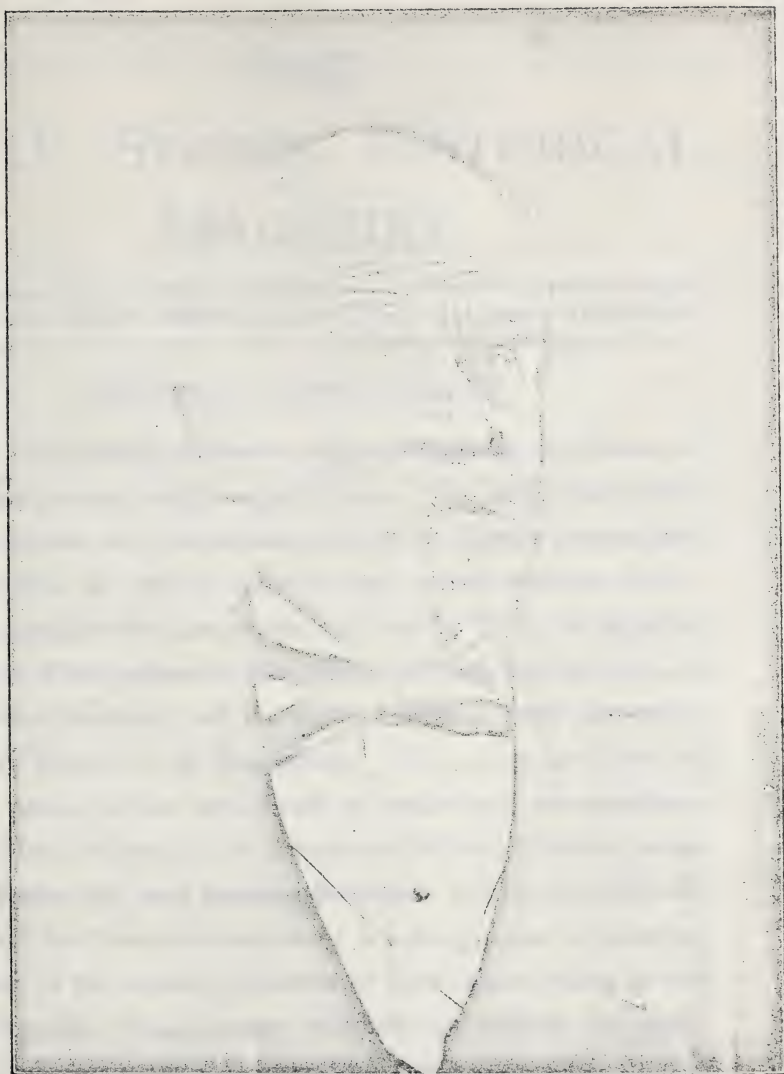
as a tool to gather to the standard of the house of Borgia, by repeated matrimonial alliances, the influence and power of her respective spouses. But through all the dark and sad history of her life the author maintains the purity of her character, and endeavors to refute as hideous calumnies, the charges which tend to make of her a terrible monster.

WALTER E. URQUHART.

The State Papers and Correspondence Bearing upon the Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana (1903; 8vo. pp. 299) has been issued from the Government Printing Office under a concurrent resolution of Congress in an edition of 6,000 copies. The collection begins with the letter of Rufus King, London, March 29, 1801, to the U. S. Secretary of State, and includes copies of the treaty. It is hardly probable that the collection is complete. Attention is called to the letter of Governor Wm. C. C. Claiborne to James Madison, Secretary of State, to be found in this *Magazine*, vol. I., May, 1903, pp. 403-408, which might with propriety have been included.

THE THOUSAND EUGENIAS. By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. Longmans, Green & Company, Publishers, New York, 1902. (8vo. pp. 328.)

A story full of romantic interest. It deals with mining ventures, and the excitement incident to rise and fall in the values of stock. The holowness and treachery of hostess and host contrasted with the innocence and trustfulness of a young lady, give bold relief to the essential elements in the characters of the people who enter into the plots of a good novel. The scenes are in England and Paris, and the book is of the airy style that gives delightful entertainment for a few hours of reading. In addition to "The Thousand Eugenias" there are in the book some other admirably developed short stories. The author's words often show the genius of originality.



WILLIAM LEROY BROUN, A.M., LL.D.

SEE SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, PAGE 402.

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. II, Nos. 5 AND 6. BIRMINGHAM, ALA., MAR.-MAY, 1904. WHOLE NO. 12

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE GULF STATES HISTORICAL MAGAZINE completes Volume II with this issue and will cease publication. The Editor regrets that its publication must be discontinued, but the money returns have not equalled the expense incurred, and private interests are too exacting to allow the time necessary to keep the MAGAZINE up to the standard of his judgment. The field of Southern history is rich in unpublished material, and the Editor has found great pleasure in devoting himself to its development. While there have been no money profits, he has been repaid by contact and correspondence with history students, by the enlargement of his intellectual stores, by a broader and more generous patriotism, and by the consciousness that the MAGAZINE has served a noble purpose in directing attention to the historical resources of the Southern States of our great Republic. He appreciates, gratefully and cordially, the generous aid of contributors and subscribers, and he bids adieu to them and to the public at large with the hope that other periodicals will carry on the work in which he is profoundly interested. He will continue historical researches and will publish the results whenever he has them in proper form.

CONSCRIPTION AND EXEMPTION IN ALABAMA DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

By WALTER L. FLEMING, Ph.D., Professor of History in West Virginia University.

In the spring of 1862, the Confederate Congress passed the Enrolment Act by which all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five were made liable to military service at the call of the President, and those already in service were retained. The President was authorized to employ state officials to enrol the men made subject to duty, provided the governor of the state gave his consent; otherwise he was to employ Confederate officials. The conscripts thus secured were to be assigned to the state commands already in the field until these organizations were recruited to their full strength. Substitutes were allowed under such regulations as the Secretary of War might prescribe.* Five days later a law was passed exempting certain classes of persons from the operations of the enrolment act. These were: Confederate and state officials, mail carriers, ferrymen on postoffice routes, pilots, telegraph operators, miners, printers, ministers, college professors, teachers with twenty pupils or more, teachers of the deaf, dumb and blind, hospital attendants, one druggist to each drug store, and superintendents and operatives in cotton and wood factories.† In the fall of 1862, the enrolment law was extended to include all white men from thirty-five to forty-five years of age and all who lacked a few months of being eighteen years of age. They were to be enrolled for three years, the oldest, if not needed, being left until the last.‡

At this time was begun the practice, which virtually amounted to exemption, of making special details from the army to perform certain kinds of skilled labor. The first details thus made were to manufacture shoes for the army.§ The list of those who might claim exemption, in addition to those named in the act of April 21,

*Act of April 16, 1862. *Pub. Laws, C. S. A.*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess.

†Act, April 21, 1862, *Pub. Laws, 1st Cong.*, 1st Sess.

‡Act, September 27, 1862, *Pub. Laws, C. S. A.*, 1st Cong., 2nd Sess.

§Act, October 9, 1862, *Pub. Laws, 1st Cong.*, 2nd Sess. These details were still carried on the rolls of the Company.

1862, was extended to include the following: state militia officers, state and Confederate clerks in the civil service, railway employes who were not common laborers, steamboat employes, one editor and the necessary printers for each newspaper, those morally opposed to war, provided they furnished a substitute or paid \$500 into the treasury, physicians, professors and teachers who had been engaged in the profession for two years or more, government artisans, mechanics and other employes, contractors and their employes furnishing arms and supplies to the state or to the Confederacy, factory owners, shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, wagonmakers, millers and engineers. The artisans and manufacturers were granted exemption from military service provided the products of their labor were sold at not more than seventy-five per cent profit above the cost of production. For every plantation of twenty or more negroes one white man was entitled to exemption as overseer.*

In the spring of 1863, mail contractors and drivers of post coaches were exempted;† and it was ordered that those exempted under the so-called "20-negro" law should pay \$500 into the Confederate treasury; also, that such state officials as were exempted by the governor might be exempted by the Confederate authorities. The law permitting the hiring of substitutes by men liable to service was repealed on December 28, 1863, and a few days later even those who had furnished substitutes were made subject to military duty.‡

A law of February 17, 1864,§ provided that all soldiers between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be retained in service during the war. Those between the ages of seventeen and eighteen, and forty-five and fifty were called into service as a reserve force for the defense of the state. All exemptions were repealed except the following: (1) Members of Congress and of the state legislature,

*Act, October 11, 1862, *Pub. Laws*, 1st Cong., 2nd Sess.

The exemption of one white for every 20 negroes was called the "20 nigger law." One peaceable Black Belt citizen wished to stay at home, but he possessed only nineteen negroes. His neighbors thought that he ought to go to war, and no one would give, lend or sell him a slave. Unable to purchase even the smallest negro, he was sadly making preparations to depart, when one morning he was rejoiced by the welcome news that one of the negro women had presented her husband with a fine boy. The tale of twenty negroes was complete and the master remained at home.

†Act of April 14, 1863, *Pub. Laws*, 1st Cong., 3rd Sess.

‡Acts, December 28, 1863, and January 5, 1864, *Pub. Laws*, 1st Cong., 4th Sess.

§*Pub. Laws*, 1st Cong., 4th Sess.

and such Confederate and state officers as the President or the governors might certify to be necessary for the proper administration of government; (2) ministers regularly employed, superintendents, attendants and physicians of asylums for the deaf, dumb and blind, insane, and other public hospitals, one editor for each newspaper, public printers, one druggist for each drug store which had been two years in existence, all physicians who had practiced seven years, teachers in colleges of at least two years' standing and in schools which had twenty pupils to each teacher; (3) one overseer or agriculturist to each farm upon which were fifteen or more negroes, in case there was no other exempt on the plantation. The object was to leave one white man, and no more, on each plantation, and the owner or overseer was preferred. In return for such exemption, the exempt was bound by bond to deliver to the Confederate authorities, for each slave on the plantation between the ages of sixteen and fifty, 100 pounds of bacon or its equivalent in produce, which was paid for by the government at prices fixed by the impressment commissioners. In addition, the exempt was to sell his surplus produce at prices fixed by the commissioners. The Secretary of War was authorized to make special details, under the above conditions, of overseers, farmers or planters, if the public good demanded it; also (4) to exempt the higher officials of railroads and not more than one employe for each mile of road; and (5) mail carriers and drivers. The President was authorized to make details of old men for special services*. By an act passed the same day free negroes from eighteen to fifty years of age were made liable to service with the army as teamsters. These acts of February 17, 1864, were the last legislation of importance in regard to conscription and exemption. During the year 1864, the Confederate authorities devoted their energies to construing away all exemptions possible and to absorbing the state reserve forces into the Confederate army.

To return to 1861. The state legislature when providing for the state army authorized the governor to exempt from militia duty all railway, express, steamboat and telegraph employes, but even the fire companies had to serve as militia.† The operation of the enrolment law stripped the land of men of militia age, and

*Act, February 17, 1864, *Pub. Laws*, 1st Cong., 4th Sess.

†Acts, January 31, 1861, 1st Called Session.

on November 17, 1862, the legislature ordered to duty on the public roads men from sixteen to eighteen years of age, and forty-five to fifty-five, and later all from sixteen to fifty, as well as all male slaves and free negroes from fourteen to sixty years age.† Militia officers between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were declared subject to the enrolment acts of Congress‡ as were also justices of the peace, notaries public and constables#.

Yet, instead of making an effective organization of the militia, the legislature in 1863, proceeded to frame a law of exemptions patterned after that of the Confederacy. It released from militia duty all persons over forty-five years of age, county treasurers, physicians of seven years' practice or who were in the public service, ministers, teachers of three years' standing, one blacksmith in each beat, the city police and fire companies, penitentiary guards, general administrators who had been in service five years, Confederate agents, millers, railroad employes, steamboat officials, overseers, managers of foundries, salt makers, who made as much as ten bushels a day and who sold it for not more than \$15 per bushel. Besides, the governor could make special exemptions.§ In 1864 millers who charged not more than one-eighth for toll were exempted.|| It will be seen that in some respects the state laws went further in exemption than the Confederate laws, and thus were in conflict with them. But it must be remembered that the Confederacy had already stripped the country of nearly all able-bodied men who did not evade duty. To this time, however, there was no conflict between the state and Confederate authorities in regard to conscription. An act was also passed providing for the re-organization of the penitentiary guards, and only those not subject to conscription were retained.|| A joint resolution of August 29, 1863, called upon Congress to decrease the list of exemptions, since many clerks and laborers were doing work that could be done by negroes. At the end of the year 1863, the legislature asked that the conscript law be strictly enforced by Congress.*

†Act of August 29, 1863.

‡November 25, 1862.

#December 6, 1862.

§Act of August 20, 1862.

||December 13, 1864. This was a measure of obstruction, since the Confederate laws included millers. The legislature elected in 1863 contained many obstructionists.

||Acts of August 29, 1863.

*Resolution, December 4, 1863.

On the part of the state-rights people there was much opposition to the enrolment or conscription laws on the ground that they were unconstitutional. Several cases were brought before the state supreme court and all were decided in favor of the constitutionality of the law; furthermore, it was decided that the courts and judicial officers of the state had no jurisdiction on *habeas corpus* to discharge from the custody of a Confederate enrolling officer persons who had been conscripted under the law of Congress.† A test case was carried to the state supreme court, which decided that a person who had conscientious scruples against bearing arms might pay for a substitute in the State Militia and claim exemption from state service, but if conscripted he was not exempted from the Confederate service unless he belonged to the religious denominations specially exempted by the act of Congress.‡ The court also declared constitutional the Confederate law which provided that when a substitute became subject to military duty his principal was thereby rendered liable to service.¶ In 1864, the Supreme Court held that the state had a right to subject to militia service persons exempted by the Confederate authorities as bonded agriculturists under the act of February 17, 1864, and that only those overseers were granted exemption from militia service under the act of Congress in 1863 who at that time were not subject to militia duty, and not those exempted from Confederate service by the latter laws,§ and that the clause in the act of Congress passed February 17, 1864, repealing and revoking all exemptions was unconstitutional.¶ In other cases the court held that a person regularly enrolled and sworn into the Confederate service could not raise any question, on *habeas corpus*, of his assignment to any particular command or duty,* but that the state courts could discharge on *habeas corpus* from Confederate enrolling officers persons held as conscripts who were exempted under Confederate laws;† that the Confederacy

†Ex parte Hill, *In re Willis et al. vs. Confederate States*.—38 *Alabama Reports* (1863), 429. All over the state at various times men sought to avoid conscription or certain service under every pretext, sometimes "even resorting to a *habeas corpus* before an ignorant justice of the peace who had no jurisdiction over such cases."—See *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, p. 139. Also Governor Shorter to General Johnston, August, 1863.

‡Dunkards, Quakers, Nazarenes. *In re Stringer*—38 *Alabama* (1863), 457.

¶38 *Alabama*, 458. §39 *Alabama*, 367. ¶39 *Alabama*, 254.

*39 *Alabama*, 457. †39 *Alabama*, 440.

might re-assert its rights to the military service of a citizen who was enrolled as a conscript and after procuring a discharge for physical disability, had enlisted in the state militia service;‡ and finally that the right of the Confederacy to the military services of a citizen was paramount to the right of the state.¶

During the year 1864, Governor Thomas H. Watts had much trouble with the Confederate enrolling officers who insisted upon conscripting his volunteer and militia organizations, whether they were subject to duty under the Confederate laws or not. The authorities at Richmond held that while a state might keep "troops of war" over which the Confederacy could have no control, yet the state militia was subject to all the laws of Congress. "Troops of war," as the Secretary of War explained, would be troops in active and permanent service,§ and hence virtually Confederate troops. A state with troops of that description would be very willing to give them up to the Confederacy to save expense. Thus we find the Legislature of Alabama asking the President to receive and pay certain irregular organizations which had been used to support the Conscript Bureau.¶ The Legislature, now (1864) somewhat disaffected, showed its interest in the operations of the enrolling officers by an act providing that conscript officials who forced exemptions into the Confederate service should be liable to indictment and punishment by a fine of \$1,000 to \$6,000, and imprisonment of from six months to two years.¶ It went a step further and nullified the laws of Congress by declaring that state officials, civil and military, were not subject to conscription by the Confederate authorities.°

Few good soldiers were obtained by conscription,* and the system, as it was organized in Alabama,† did more harm than good to the Confederacy. The passage of the first law, however, had one good effect. During the winter of 1861-2 there had been a reac-

‡39 Alabama, 611. #39 Alabama, 609.

§O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III, pp. 256, 463, *et passim*.

¶Memorial, October 7, 1864.

¶Acts, December 12, 1864.

°December 13, 1864.

*Curry, *Civil History of the Confederate States*, 151.

†The Conscript Bureau had posts at the following places: Decatur, Courtland, Somerville, Guntersville, Tuscumbia, Fayetteville, Pikeville, Camden, Montgomery, Selma, Lebanon, Pollard, Troy, Mobile, West Point, (Ga.), Marion, Greensborough, Blountsville, Livingston, Gadsden, Cedar Bluff, Jacksonville, Ashville, Carrollton, Tuscaloosa, Eutaw, Eufaula, Jasper, Newton, Clarksville, Talladega, Elyton—O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. III, 819-821.

tion from the enthusiastic war feeling of the previous summer. Those who thought it would be only a matter of weeks to overrun the North now saw their mistake.† Many of the people still had no doubt that the North would be glad to make peace and end the war if the government at Richmond were willing. Numbers, therefore, saw no need of more fighting, and hence did not volunteer. Thousands left the army and went home. A measure like the enrolment act was necessary to make the people realize the actual situation. Upon the passage of the law all the loyal population liable to service made preparations to go to the front, before being conscripted, which was deemed a disgrace, and the close of the year 1862 saw practically all of them in the army. Those who entered after 1862 were boys and old men.‡ Many not subject to service volunteered, so that when the age limit was extended but few more were secured.

Great dissatisfaction was expressed among the people at the enrolment law. Some thought that it was an attack upon the rights of the states, and the irritating manner in which it was enforced aroused, in some localities, intense popular indignation. Conscription being considered disgraceful, many who would have been glad for various good reasons to remain at home a few months longer, went at once into service to escape conscription. Yet some loyal and honest citizens found it disastrous to leave their homes and business without definite arrangements for the safety and support of their families. Such men suffered much annoyance from the enrolling officers in spite of the fact that the law was intended for their protection. The conscript officials, often men of bad character, persecuted those who were easy to find while neglecting the disloyal and refractory who might make trouble for them. In some sections such weak conduct came near resulting in local insurrections; this was especially the case in Randolph county in 1862.* The effect of the law was rather to stop volunteering in

†See DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*.

‡President Davis visited Mobile in October, 1863, and upon reviewing the Alabama troops recently raised, was much moved at seeing young boys and old, grey-haired men in the ranks before him.—See *Annual Cyclopaedia*. (1863). p. 8. The A. and I. General of Alabama reported, July 29, 1862, that not more than 10,000 conscripts could be secured from Alabama unless the enemy could be expelled from the Tennessee valley. In that case, 3,000 more men might be secured.—*O. R.*, Ser. IV., Vol. II, p. 21.

**O. R.*, Ser. IV., Vol. II, pp. 87, 207, 208, 790; Vol. I, p. 1149.

the state organizations and in reporting to camps of instructions, since all who did either were classed as conscripts. Not wishing to undergo the odium of being conscripted, many thousands in 1862 and 1863 went directly into the regular service.†

While the conscript law secured few good soldiers who would not have joined the army without it, it certainly served as a reminder to the people that all were needed, and as a stimulus to volunteering. Three classes of people suffered from its operations: (1) those rightfully exempted, who were constantly annoyed by the enrolling officers; (2) those soon to become liable to service, who were not allowed to volunteer in organizations of their own choice; and (3) "dead heads" and malcontents who did not intend to fight at all if they could keep from it. It was this last class that made nearly all the complaints about conscription, and it was they whom the enrolling officers left alone because they were so troublesome.

The defects in the working of conscription are well set forth in a letter from a correspondent of President Davis in December, 1862. In this letter it was asserted that the conscript law had proven a failure in Mississippi and Alabama since it had stopped the volunteering. Governor John G. Shorter of Alabama was reported to have said that the enforcement of it had been "a humbug and a farce." The writer declared that the enrolling officers were frequently of bad character; that inefficient men were making attempts to secure "bomb-proof" offices in order to avoid service in the army; and that the exemption of slave owners by the "20-negro law" had a bad influence upon the poorer classes. He also declared that the system of substitutes was bad, for many men on the hunt for substitutes, and others liable to duty were working to secure exemptions in order to serve as substitutes, while large numbers of men connected with the army managed in this way to keep away from the fighting. He was sure, he said, that there were too many hangers-on about the officers of high rank, and that it was believed that social position, wealth and influence served to get young men good staff positions.* Another evil complained of was that "paroled" men scattered to their homes and never heard of their exchange.

†See Curry, *Civil History*, p. 151. Alabama organized 18 regiments in violation of the enrolment laws.

*James Phelan to President Davis, *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 790.

To a conscript officer whose duty it was to look after them they said that they were "paroled," and he passed them by. The officers were said to be entirely too lenient with the worthless people and too rigorous with the better classes.†

After the passage of the enrolment laws, every man with excessive regard for the integrity of his person and for his comfort began to secure exemption from service. In north Alabama, men of little courage and patriotism lost confidence after the invasions of the Federals, and resorted to every expedient to escape conscription. Strange and terrible diseases were developed, and in all sections of the state health began to break down.‡ It was the day of certificates for old age, rheumatism, fits, blindness, and various other physical disabilities.§ Various other pretexts were given for staying away from the army, while some men hid out in the woods. The governor asked the people to drive such persons to their duty.§ There never was so much skilled labor in the South as now. Harness-making, shoemaking, charcoal burning, carpentering, all these and numerous other occupations supposed to be in support of the cause, secured exemption. Running a tanyard was a favorite way of escaping service. A pit was dug in the corner of the backyard, a few hides secured, carefully preserved and never finished—for more hides might not be available and then the tanner would be no longer exempt. There were purchasing agents, sub-purchasing agents and sub-sub-agents, cattle drivers, tithe gatherers, agents of the Nitre Bureau, agents to examine political prisoners,* and many other Confederate and state agents of various kinds.¶ The class left at home for the enrolling officers to contend with, especially after 1862,

†O. R., Ser. I, Vol. XVII, pt. 2, p. 790.

‡C. C. Clay, Jr., to Sec. of War, O. R., Ser. IV., Vol. II, 141, 142.

#I knew of one man who for two years carried his arm in a sling to deceive the enrolling officers. It was sound when he put it into the sling. After the war ended he could never regain the use of it.

A draft from the Home Guards of Selma was ordered to go to Mobile. The roll was made out and opposite his name each man was allowed to write his excuse for not wishing to go. One cripple, John Smith, wrote: "One leg too short," and was at once excused by the Board. The next man had no excuse whatever, but he had seen how Smith's excuse worked, so he wrote: "Both legs too short," but he had to go to Mobile.—*The Land We Love*, Vol. III, p. 430.

§Shorter's Proclamation, Dec. 22, 1862.

*M. J. Saffold, afterward a prominent "Scalawag," escaped service as an "agent to examine political prisoners." O. R., Ser. II, Vol. VI, 432.

¶The list of pardons given by President Johnson will show a number of the titles assumed by the exempts. The chronic exempts were skilled in

was a source of weakness, not of strength, to the Confederate cause. The best men had gone to the army, and these people formed the public. Their opinion was public opinion, and with few exceptions the home-stayers were a sorry lot. From them came the complaint about the favoritism toward the rich. The talk of "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight" originated with them, as well as the criticism of the "20-negro law." In the minds of the soldiers at the front there was no doubt that the slave-holder and the rich man were doing their full share.‡

Very few of the slave-holders and wealthy men tried to escape service, but when one did he attracted more attention and called forth sterner denunciation than ten poor men in similar cases would have done. In fact, few able-bodied men tried to secure exemption under the "20-negro law." It would have been better for the Confederacy if more planters had stayed at home to direct the production of supplies, and this fact were recognized in 1864,* when a "15-negro law" was passed by Congress and other exemptions of planters and overseers were encouraged.†

There is no doubt that those who desired to remain quietly at home—to be neutral, so to speak—found it hard to evade the conscript officers. One of these declared that the enrolling officers "burned the woods and sifted the ashes for conscripts." Another who had been caught in the sifting process deserted to the enemy at Huntsville. He was asked: "Do they conscript close over the river?" "Hell, stranger, I should think they do; they take every

all the arts of beating out. If a new way of securing exemption were discovered, the whole fraternity of "dead heads" soon knew of it. In 1864, nearly all the exemptions and details made in order to supply the Quartermaster's Department were revoked and agents were sent through the country to notify the former exempts that they were again subject to duty. Before the enrolling officers reached them nearly all of them had secured a fresh exemption, and from a large district in middle Alabama, I have been informed by the agent who revoked the contracts, not one recruit for the armies was secured. Often the exemption was only a detail and large numbers of men were carried on the rolls of companies but never saw their commands. Often a man when conscripted would have sufficient influence to be at once detailed and would never see his company. Little attention was paid to the laws regarding exemption.

‡Curry, *Civil History*, pp. 142-148. The wealthy young men volunteered at first, as privates or as officers; the older men of wealth nearly all became officers, chosen by their men. One company from Tuskegee owned property worth over \$2,000,000—*Opelika Post*, December 4, 1903.

*Act of February 17, 1864.

†Curry, *Civil History* of the Confederate States, pp. 142-148, 151.

man who has not been dead more than two days.† But the "hill billy" and "sand mountain" conscripts were of no value when captured; there were not enough soldiers in the state to keep them in their regiments. The Third Alabama Regiment of Reserves ran away almost in a body. There were fifteen or twenty old men in each county as a supporting force to the Conscript Bureau, and they had old guns some of which would not shoot, and ammunition that did not fit.‡ Thus the best men went into the army, never to return, and a class of people the country could well have spared, survived to assist a second time in the ruin of their country in the darker days of Reconstruction. Often the "fire-eating, die-in-the-last-ditch" radical of 1861 remained at home "to take care of the ladies," was an exempt, a "bomb-proof" or a conscript officer, and later became a "scalawag."

Some escaped war service by joining the various small independent and irregular commands formed for frontier service in north Alabama by the officers who found field duty too irksome. Though these irregular bodies were, as we have seen, gradually absorbed by the regular organizations, yet during their day of strength they were most unpleasant defenders. The men sometimes enlisted in order to have more opportunity for license and plunder, and such were hated alike by friend and foe.

Another kind of irregular organization caused some trouble in another way. Before the extension of the age limits to seventeen and fifty, the governor raised small commands of young boys to assist in the execution of the state laws, no other force being available. Later, when the Confederate Congress extended its laws to include these, the conscript officers tried to enroll them, but the governor objected. The officers complained that, in order to escape the odium of conscription, the young boys who were subject by law to duty in the reserves, evaded the law by going at once into the army, or by joining some command for special duty. They were of the opinion that these boys should be sent to camps of instruction. The governor had ten companies of young boys under eighteen years of age raised near Talladega, and really mustered into the Confederate service as irregular troops before the law of February 17, 1864, was passed. After the passage of the law, the

†New York *World*, March 28, 1864.

‡O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, 881.

enrolling officers wished to disband these companies and send the men to the reserve. Governor Watts was angered, and sharply criticised the whole policy of conscription. He said that much harm was done by the methods of the conscript officers; that it was nonsense to take men from the fields and put them in camps of instruction when there were no arms for them, and no active service was intended; they had better stay at home, drill once a week with volunteer organizations, and work the rest of the time; to assemble the farmers in camps for useless drill while the crops were being destroyed was "most egregious folly." The governor also attacked the policy of the Conscript Bureau in refusing to allow the enrolment in the same companies of boys under eighteen and men over forty-five.* In regard to the attempts to disband his small force of militia in active service, the governor used strong language. To Seddon, the Secretary of War, he wrote in May, 1864: "It must not be forgotten that the states have some rights left, and that the rights to troops in time of war is guaranteed by the Constitution. These rights, on the part of Alabama, I am determined shall be respected. Unless you order the Commandant of Conscripts to stop interfering with [certain volunteer companies], there will be a conflict between the Confederate General† and the State authorities."‡ Watts carried the day and the Confederate authorities yielded.

The enrolment law provided that state officials should be exempt from enrolment upon presenting a certificate from the governor stating that they were necessary to the proper administration of the government. In November, 1864, Governor Watts complained to General Jones M. Withers, who commanded the Confederate reserve forces in Alabama, that the conscript officers had been enrolling by force state officials who held certificates from the governor and also from the Commandant of Conscripts, and, he added: "This state of things can not last long without a conflict between the Confederate and state authorities. I shall be compelled to protect my state officers with all the forces of the state at my command." The enroll-

*The law of February 17, 1864, provided for the separate enrolment of these two classes, and the enrolling officers interpreted it as requiring separate service. Such an interpretation would practically prohibit the formation of volunteer commands and would leave the reserves to the enrolling officers to be organized in camp.

†General Withers.

‡O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 322, 323, 463, 466, 1059, 1060.

ing officers referred him to a decision of the Secretary of War in the case of a state official in Lowndes county: that by the act of February 17, 1864, all men between the ages of seventeen and fifty were taken at once into the Confederate service, and that state officials elected later could not claim exemption. Governor Watts then wrote to Seddon: "Unless you interfere there will be a conflict between the Confederate and state authorities." He denied the right of Confederate officers to conscript state officials elected after February 17, 1864; "I deny such right and will resist it with all the forces of the state."[‡] The Secretary of War replied by commending the Confederate officers for the way in which they had done their duty, insisting that it was not a political nor a constitutional question, but one involving private rights and should be left to the courts. This was receding from the confident ruling made in the case of the Lowndes county man. There was no more dispute and it is to be presumed that the governor retained his officials.[#] No wonder that Colonel Preston, the chief of the Bureau of Conscription, wrote to the Secretary of War that, "from one end of the Confederacy to the other every constituted authority, every officer, every man and woman was engaged in opposing the enrolling officer in the execution of his duties."^{*}

But these officers had only themselves to blame. They pursued a short-sighted, nagging policy, worrying those who were exempt—the state officials and the militia—because they were easy to reach, and neglecting the real conscript material.[†] The work was known to be useless and the whole system was irritating to the last degree to all who came in contact with it. It was useless because there was little good material for conscription, except in the frontier country where no authority could be exerted. During 1862 and 1863, practically nothing was done by the Bureau in Alabama, and at the end of the latter year, Colonel E. D. Blake, the Superintendent of Special Registration, reported that there were only 13,000 men in the state between the ages of seventeen and forty-five, and of these he estimated 4,000 were under eighteen years of

[‡]*O. R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 817, 819, 920.

[#]*O. R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 821, 848. At this time there were in the state 1,223 officials who had the governor's certificate of exemption. There were 1,012 in Georgia, 1,422 in Virginia, 14,675 in North Carolina, and much smaller numbers in the other States. See *O. R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, p. 851.

^{*}*O. R.*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 224. (March 18, 1864.)

age, and hence, at that time, beyond the reach of the enrolling officers. More than 8,000† were exempt under the laws and orders. This left, he said, only 1,000 subject to enrolment. Nowhere, in any of the estimates, are found allowances for those physically and mentally disqualified. The number then exempted in Alabama by medical boards is unknown. In other states this number was sometimes more and sometimes less than the number exempted by law and by order.

A year later, after all exemptions had been revoked, the number disqualified for physical disability by the examining boards amounted to 3933. Besides these there were the lame, the halt, the blind, and the insane, who were so clearly unfit for service that no enrolling officer ever brought them before the medical board. The 4,000 between the ages of seventeen and eighteen, and also the 4,600 between sixteen and seventeen, came under the enrolment law of February 17, 1864, as also several thousand who were over forty-five. But it is certain that many of these, especially the younger ones, were already in the Confederate service as volunteers. It is also certain that many hundreds of all ages, who were liable to service, escaped conscription, especially in north Alabama. In a way, their places in the ranks were filled by those who did not become liable to enrolment until 1864, or even not at all, but who volunteered nevertheless.

From April 1862 to February 1865, there had been enrolled at the camps in Alabama 14,875 men who had been classed in the re-

†An ex-Confederate related to me his experiences with the conscript officers. In 1864, he was at home on furlough and was taken by the "buttermilk" cavalry, carried to Camp Watts, at Notasulga, and enrolled as a conscript, no attention being paid to his furlough. To Camp Watts were brought daily squads of conscripts rounded up by the "buttermilk" cavalry. They were guarded by conscripts. When rested, the new recruits would leave, the guards often going with them. Then another squad would be brought in, who in a day or two would desert. This soldier came home again with a discharge for disability. The conscript officials again took him to Camp Watts. He presented his discharge papers; the commandant tore them up before his face, and a few days later this soldier with a friend boarded the cowcatcher of a passing train and rode to Chehaw. The commandant sent guards after the fugitives, who captured the guards and then went to Tuskegee, where they swore out, as he said, a "*habeas corpus*" before a justice of the peace and started for their homes with their papers. They found the swamps filled with deserters, who did not molest them after finding that they too were "deserters."

†8,835 to January, 1864. See report of Colonel Preston, April, 1864, in O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 355, 363.

ports as conscripts. This number included all men who volunteered at the camps, all of military age that the officers could find or catch before they went into the volunteer service, details made as soon as enrolled, irregular commands formed before the men were liable to duty, and a few hundred genuine conscripts who had to be guarded to keep them from running away. It was reported that for two years not a recruit was sent by the Bureau from Alabama to the army of Tennessee or to the army of Northern Virginia, but that the men were enrolled in the organizations of the state. This means that much of the enrolment of 14,875 was only nominal, and that this number included the regiments sent to the front from Alabama in 1862, after the passage of the enrolment act in April. Eighteen regiments were organized in Alabama after that date, in violation of the enrolment act, many of the men evading conscription, as the Bureau reported, by going at once into the general service. The number of such enlisted in these regiments was estimated at more than 10,000.§

It is possible to ascertain the number exempted by law and by order before 1865. A report by Colonel Preston, dated April, 1864, gives the number of exempts in Alabama as 8,835 to January, 1864.* A month later, all exemptions were revoked.† In February, 1865, a complete report places the total number exempted by law and by order in Alabama at 10,218, of whom 3,933 were exempted by medical boards. The state officials exempted numbered 1,333‡ and Confederate officials, 21; ministers, 726; editors, 33, and their employes, 155; public printers, 3; druggists, 81; physicians, 796; teachers, 352; overseers and agriculturists, 1,447; railway officials and employes, 1,090; mail carriers and contractors, 60; foreigners, 167; agricultural details, 38; pilots, telegraphers, shoemakers, tanners and blacksmiths, 86; government contractors, 44; details of artisans and mechanics, 570; details for government services (not specified), 218. There were 1,046 men incapable of field service who were assigned to duty in the above details, chiefly in the conscript bureau, quartermaster's department, and commissariat.§ It is certain that many others were exempted and

§ O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 101, 103, *et passim*.

* O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, pp. 355, 363.

† February 17, 1864.

‡ There were 1,223 to November 30, 1864.

O. R., Ser. IV, Vol. III, 1,103-9.

detailed from service in the army. The list of those pardoned in 1865 and 1866 by President Johnson shows many non-military occupations not mentioned above.

It is interesting to notice the fate of the conscript officers when captured by the Federals. Bradford Hambrick was tried by a military commission in Nashville, Tenn., in January, 1864, charged with being a Confederate conscript officer and with forcing "peaceable citizens of the United States in Madison county, Alabama, to enter the Confederate army." He was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for one year, and to pay a fine of \$2,000, or serve an additional imprisonment of 1,000 days. §

To sum up: The early enrolment laws served to stimulate enlistment; the later ones probably had no effect at all, except to give the Bureau something to do and the law officers something on which to exercise their wits. The conscript service also served as an exemption board. It secured few, if any, enlistments that the state could not have secured, and certainly lost more than it gained by harassing the people. The laws were constantly violated by the state; this is proved by the enlistment of eighteen new regiments contrary to the law. It finally drove the state authorities into an attitude of nullification by its construction of the enrolment acts. Neither the state nor the Confederate government had an efficient machinery for securing enlistments. If there ever were laws regarded only in the breaking, the enrolment acts were such laws.

The conscripts and exempts, like the deserters, tories and Peace Society men, are important, not only because they so weakened the Confederacy, but also because they formed the party that would have carried out, or at least begun, reconstruction according to the plans of Lincoln and Johnson, as first proclaimed. Johnson so modified it that a better class was admitted. The "scalawags" of Reconstruction times came principally from this class, probably influenced to some extent by the scorn of their neighbors.

§G. O., No. 114, Dept. of the Cumberland, Atlanta, Georgia, October 4, 1864, in War Department Archives. There were other similar cases, but I found record of no other conviction. The "tories" were sometimes in league with the conscript officers, and sometimes they shot them at sight.

LOPEZ'S EXPEDITIONS TO CUBA.

By JESSE WRIGHT BOYD.

Our war with Spain and the problems resulting from it have aroused public interest in Cuba. Numerous books and magazine articles have been written about Cuba, but they chiefly deal with events that are quite recent, and the reader who depends on them for his ideas of Cuba's past history is apt to get little more than a confused impression of ever-recurring insurrections without sufficient detail to give them a sense of reality or explanation enough to make them intelligible.

Yet this history has strong claims upon our attention. If we are to deal wisely with Cuba, we must know the conditions which for years have moulded the Cuban character, for a people and their problems are not to be understood apart from their past. Moreover, the island has long played a prominent part in our own politics, both foreign and domestic, and seems likely to continue to do so. Its history is therefore, in a sense, a part of our own.

The expeditions of Lopez, the Filibuster, in 1850 and 1851, illustrate these statements. No one can study in contemporary accounts the injustice and oppression which furnished the occasion for them without getting a clearer conception of recent events. On the other hand, they were closely connected with prominent names and important issues in our own history, and they led to serious complications which threatened to bring on the Spanish war half a century ago.

Narcisso Lopez* was born in Venezuela, but entered the Spanish army at an early age and soon attained the rank of Major-General. He went to Cuba in 1843 and was well received by Governor General Valdes. After some vicissitudes of fortune he retired to private life. This may have given him a better chance to observe the real condition of the native Cubans. Possibly some personal

*For a sketch of the life of Lopez see J. M. Callahan's *Cuba and International Relations*, page 222. Also, an extremely interesting outline in *The Southern Quarterly Review* for January, 1852, pages 1 *et seq.* The *Montgomery Advertiser and Gazette* for June 4, 1850, contains an account of his life. See also *New Orleans Delta*, May 13, 1850, for a four column sketch.

pique may have started his dislike of the Spanish authority. At any rate, about this time he seems to have begun his plans to free Cuba from the oppression of the Spanish rule.

While trying to carry out these schemes three distinct filibustering expeditions from the United States were organized in the years 1849, 1850 and 1851, respectively. The only excuse for these lay in the condition of the Cubans. It is, therefore, proper to enquire into this at once before discussing the expeditions themselves. Information about the real situation in the island at that time is derived chiefly from three contemporary sources:* the declarations of the insurgent Cubans themselves, books of contemporary travel, and miscellaneous information contained in the newspapers of the day.

In 1849 Lopez in an interview with John C. Calhoun and four other senators described the condition of the island†. It may be summarized as follows:—

(1) The Cubans were allowed no share in public affairs‡. All positions of trust in church and state were given to Spaniards in preference to native Cubans. There were no Cuban representatives

*The first and second sources are often hard to separate. Much of the miscellaneous news in the papers of the day bears evidence of Cuban origin, while some of what is said to come from the insurgents has a suspiciously American flavor. Among the books of travel should be especially mentioned J. G. Taylor's *The United States and Cuba*, London, 1851.

†J. F. H. Claiborne: *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, Vol. II, page 53.

‡The accuracy of these statements of Lopez in regard to the Spanish rule is confirmed by the following extracts from the declaration of independence of the citizens of Puerto Principe of July 4, 1851:

"Publicly and by a legislative act, was Cuba declared to be deprived of the rights enjoyed by all Spaniards, and conceded by nature and the laws to nations the least advanced in civilization.

"Publicly have the sons of Cuba been cut off from all admission to the commands and lucrative employments of the State.

"The government has publicly and officially declared, and the journals in its pay have labored to sustain the declaration with foul commentary, that the inhabitants of Cuba have no organ nor right of action, even for the purpose of directing a humble prayer to the feet of the sovereign.

"For having dared to give utterance to principles and opinions, which to other nations constitute the foundation of their moral progress and glory, the Cubans most distinguished for their virtues and talents, have found themselves wanderers and exiles."

This declaration of Puerto Principe was published in the New Orleans and other Southern papers. Its genuineness was disputed by some, but there seems no really good reason to doubt its substantial accuracy.

An incident which brings vividly to mind the fact that the Cubans were allowed no voice in the administration of their own affairs, is the dismissal from office of the corporation of Puerto Principe. This corporation, with the authorization of the governor who presided over the

in the Spanish Cortes. There was no freedom of speech or of the press.

(2) An army of 20,000 soldiers was maintained to overawe the people, besides a strong marine force and numerous spies whose duty it was to inform the authorities of any illegal or suspicious movements of the Cubans*. For this and other reasons taxation was exceedingly heavy. From a population of 1,000,000, including slaves, revenues were exacted to the amount of \$24,000,000.

(3) Many restrictions were placed on personal liberty. No guest even could be entertained, nor could a journey be made, or one's residence be changed, without a permit†.

(4) The power of the Captain General was absolute; he could set aside or make laws at will‡.

These statements are in harmony with the Declaration of Independence of the citizens of Puerto Principe dated July 4, 1851. One paragraph in the latter sums up the whole situation vigorously:

"Human reason revolts at the idea that the social and political condition of a people can be prolonged in which man, stripped of all rights and guarantees, with no security of person or property, no hope in the future, lives only by the will and under the conditions imposed by the pleasure of his tyrants; where a vile cal-

province, addressed a memorial to the queen, requesting that the royal court should not be suppressed in the district. For this they were removed from office with the declaration that the government was not bound in its proceedings to consult the opinion and interests of the country.

*The declaration referred to previously says: "Public is the constant augmentation of the army, and the creation of new bodies of mercenaries, which, under the pretext of the public security, serve only to increase the burdens of Cuba, and add still more harassing vexation to the espionage practised against her people."

†Taylor gives a vivid description of Cuban taxation and its results on page 304. Other books of travel agree with him as to the main facts.

‡The declaration says: "Public are the impediments and difficulties imposed upon every individual, to restrain him from moving from place to place, and from exercising any branch of industry; no one being safe from arrest and fine, for some deficiency of authority or license, at every step he may take."

§Callahan points out on page 15 that the Spanish movement toward liberal government in 1812 had little real effect in Cuba, and that since 1825 the captain general's word had been the law of the island. Taylor gives on pages 298 and 311 some interesting facts about the arbitrary power of the Spanish officials. The declaration says: "Public are the unlimited powers of every description granted to the captains general of Cuba, who can refuse to those whom they condemn even the right of a trial and the privilege of being sentenced by a tribunal."

unny, a prisoner's denunciation, a despot's suspicion, a word caught up by surprise in the sanctuary of home, or even the violated privacy of a letter, furnishes ample grounds for tearing a man from his hearth, and casting him forth to die of destitution or despair on a foreign soil; if he escapes being subjected to the insulting forms of a barbarous arbitrary tribunal, where his persecutors are themselves the judges who condemn him, and where instead of their proving his offense, he is required to prove his innocence."

Two other causes which tended to widen the breach were:

(1) The threat of the government to emancipate the numerous slaves and to turn them against the revolutionists.

(2) The strong race antipathy between the native Cubans and the Spaniards.

Such were the conditions which Lopez and his companions wished to reform. The Spanish authorities soon became suspicious of him and he was forced to flee. He passed to the United States, and finding there many men willing to undergo the trials of any dangerous or adventurous undertaking, he immediately began to make preparations and to collect men for a descent on Cuba.

Among the many well known Americans whom he visited was Jefferson Davis,* of Mississippi. This accomplished gentleman had recently made a national reputation by his brilliant and conspicuous career in the Mexican war. Lopez visited Mr. Davis in the summer of 1849, with the view of inducing him to take command of an expedition to free Cuba. Mr. Davis declined. The command seems next to have been offered to Robert E. Lee, then an officer in the United States Army; but he also declined it.

While in Washington in the Spring of 1849, General Lopez visited Hon. John C. Calhoun. During the conversation Calhoun expressed his sympathy with Cuba and the hope for her speedy independence†. He favored the cause of Cuban independence,

*See Callahan, page 226. Also see Rhodes, *History of United States*, Vol. I, page 217, and the references there given as authorities for these statements about Davis and Lee.

†From the *New Orleans Weekly Delta* of September 5, 1851, we quote the following extract in regard to Calhoun's attitude towards Cuban affairs. The extract is taken from a letter printed in the *Charleston Mercury*, August 24, 1851:

Charleston, August 24, 1851.

"To the Editors of the Mercury:

"When General Lopez made his visit to Washington in the spring of 1849, the Hon. J. C. Calhoun was the first gentleman in that city who

declaring that assistance would be lawfully offered by Americans in case of insurrection, and that he had no apprehension of European interference.

Later Calhoun became absorbed in the issues connected with the compromises of 1850, and was unwilling to take any definite steps in regard to Cuba, not wishing to distract the attention of the South to external affairs. In the meantime Lopez was gathering men to carry out his plans. He declared that his purpose was the advancement and happiness of the Cuban people, and the acquisition by them of free institutions. Of course, this meant independence. To gain this he considered it necessary to bring to her assistance a force from abroad, around which the Cuban patriots could rally. This course he deemed absolutely essential, since the Cubans were without military equipment, and their movements were hampered by Spanish soldiers and by the all-pervading system of Spanish espionage.

Lopez first attempted to invade Cuba in August 1849, but was

called on the General. He even carried his civility to the extent of making a second call before the first had been returned. In his conversation with General Lopez, through Mr. Sanchez and myself, he expressed himself as warmly in behalf of Cuba and her annexation as has any other man in the country, either before or since.

"A short time after a prominent Southern Senator favored me with an appointment in the recess room of the Senate. Mr. Calhoun was invited there, as were also four other Senators, three Democrats and one Whig. The purpose of the gentlemen, as it seemed to me, was principally to learn Mr. Calhoun's views upon a subject of such vital importance to the country. Mr. Calhoun then expressed himself as decidedly as to the justice of our cause, the assistance which would be lawfully proffered by the American people in case of insurrection, and his nonapprehension of European interference, as he had done on former occasions. The gentlemen present fully coincided with his views.

"Such were the sentiments of John C. Calhoun in the spring of 1849. The Wilmot proviso question then assumed increased gravity, and as the contest became fiercer, Mr. Calhoun's views underwent a visible change. He was no longer for action, but for procrastination. He felt, no doubt, that the Cuba question would draw the minds of the people from an internal to an external contest, and that his issue, his 'threshold' issue, might be postponed, if not abandoned. Then, but not 'till then, did Mr. Calhoun express himself as quoted by the correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*. But Mr. Calhoun's hopes were not realized. The South did not unite even in the absence of the Cuba excitement. Were he now living every consideration invites the belief that, having failed to unite the South upon the admission of California, he would strive to do so, with greater probabilities of success, upon the Cuba platform, thus obtaining for her that 'equilibrium' with which alone can this Union be preserved, through the union of the South.

"I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"AMBROSIA JOSE GONZALES, of Cuba."

frustrated by President Taylor who ordered the entire expedition to be seized as it was on the point of departure*.

Lopez now traveled through the South and Southwest enlisting men for a second descent on Cuba. Many of these men had seen service in the Mexican war. Quite a number served afterwards under Walker in Central America.

He considered it highly important to secure as leader some American whose ability and influence would draw hearty support in men and money from the United States. In the spring of 1850 he visited John A. Quitman, then Governor of Mississippi.† He offered him the leadership. He showed letters of encouragement from distinguished men in the United States, and painted in brilliant colors the prospects of success and the effect it would have on Mexico and the neighboring governments. The idea appealed strongly to the high-strung and susceptible nature of Quitman. But owing to the menacing condition of public affairs, he thought his first duty was to the State of which he was governor. He therefore declined the leadership, but gave the plan his hearty sympathy and encouragement. He advised Lopez to carry a strong and well organized force to Cuba, and cautioned him against treachery.

The second expedition assembled at New Orleans,‡ in the early spring of 1850, and on May 7, Lopez and his party set sail for Cuba

*President Zachary Taylor issued a proclamation dated August 11, 1849. It said that information obtained pointed "to Cuba as the object of this expedition." It emphatically stated that no persons engaged in it "must expect the interference of this Government in any form on their behalf, no matter to what extremities they may be reduced."

In the excitement of the moment the importance of the movement was greatly exaggerated. The *St. Louis Republican* had the following summary of the information from New Orleans, upon an authentic report of which was supposed General Taylor's proclamation had been issued: "Mysterious Movement in New Orleans. The papers of New Orleans are silent about a movement that is going on in that city, which has, if we are correctly informed, the appearance of a military movement against some neighboring country, and is for this reason, contrary to our laws. It is stated to us that a company of fifteen hundred men is being enrolled in that city, who are to serve for twelve months, and to be paid \$1,000 each for the year. They are told that they are to fight, but they have not been informed against whom their warfare is to be directed. It is said that half a million dollars are on deposit in the Canal Bank to use on the enterprise." Quoted in *Southern Advocate* of Huntsville, Ala., August 24, 1849.

†*Life of Quitman*, Vol. I, page 55.

‡On the 7th of May the President was informed in a letter by W. L. Dodge: "The last of the Cubans leave this evening. The whole force is probably between 6,000 and 8,000 of the very best kind of material, all procured and organized in the interior."

on the steamer *Oreole*. The Spanish Consul at New Orleans sent a fast sailing schooner to Havana to inform the Captain General of the departure of the Cuban Expedition.† Others had previously sailed from the United States in the *Georgiana* and the *Susan Loud*.

After leaving New Orleans Lopez met others at Contoy, Yucatan, and made final preparations for his invasion of Cuba. Contoy was without the jurisdiction of the United States and of Spain. Here unmolested the revolutionists could make warlike preparations. General Lopez now gave permission to all who were indisposed to continue in the expedition, to withdraw. About twenty-five did so, and took passage in the *Georgiana* for Chagres.||

Lopez in an address to the command promised them the co-opefaction of the Cubans. Every private was to receive four thousand dollars at the end of the first year, or sooner if the revolution should succeed before the expiration of that time. The men, however, were actuated more from a spirit of adventure than of gain.

Lopez had at first decided to attack Matanzas, but hearing that the Spanish expected this movement, it was decided to land at Cardenas,* which was taken after a stubborn but brief resistance. When the barracks were carried by assault, the Spanish soldiers threw down their arms and many joined the army of invasion. Lopez now issued a strong appeal for volunteers, but the Cubans did not respond. Either from apathy or dread of Spanish punishment they seemed unwilling to risk their lives.

The Spanish troops began to close in on Cardenas, and Lopez saw that without native co-operation its occupation was useless and dangerous. He ordered the troops to re-embark, with a view of attacking Mantanzas. Some of the party objected, a council of war was held on board, and it was declared that no further attempt

†Montgomery *Advertiser and State Gazette*, May 21, 1850.

||Two ships, the *Georgiana* and the *Susan Loud*, both supposed to belong to Lopez's party, were seized by the Spanish ship *Pizzaro* off Contoy. Their crews and passengers were tried by a marine court, and the British Consul was, on invitation, present at the examination, while Mr. Campbell, the American Consul, had no official information of the fact, and was not allowed to see them.

*In the *Advertiser and State Gazette* of June 4, 1850, Lopez is quoted as saying that the attack on Cardenas was meant as a feint to draw the Spanish soldiers to that point. Then the attack was to be made elsewhere. But there was a delay at Cardenas, the ship grounded on leaving the harbor, and the men refused to make another attack on Cuba. Lopez was therefore obliged to sail for Key West.

to land on the island was practicable, because of the indecision of the native population. To this decision Lopez would not agree, and wished to land an attacking party. When the men refused to follow him he resigned command. The steamer then put to sea with the purpose of reaching Key West, and at nightfall came to anchor within forty miles of that port.

The Spanish authorities sent the *Pizarro*, a fast steamer, in pursuit of the filibusters, and offered a reward of \$50,000 for the capture of Lopez.

The *Pizarro* set out in pursuit of the *Creole* and ran into Key West while the *Creole* was lying at anchor. She set out again in search of her at daybreak. The people of the town having found out the purpose of the *Pizarro*, thronged the pier and hills to watch the issue. Soon they recognized the *Creole* closely pursued by the huge *Pizarro*, which was throwing out volumes of smoke and rapidly gaining. At this juncture the fuel of the steamer gave out, and the *Pizarro* was rapidly gaining. The chances of escape for the *Creole* seemed hopeless, but by using the cargo and the wood work of the ship for fuel, she outdistanced her pursuer and dropped anchor under the guns of the fort. The *Pizarro* was restrained from taking possession of the *Creole* by the presence of the United States officers, who took charge of the steamer.*

Most of the men of the expedition then returned to their homes. The loss of the expedition was fourteen killed and thirty wounded. Lopez, with General John Henderson† and others, was tried for

*A spirited account of this expedition is given by J. J. Roche in his *By-Ways of War*, page 35, *et seq.*

†The New Orleans *Weekly Delta* for January 27, 1851, contains some interesting statements about the points involved in the trial of Henderson. A test case was made against him, and when it failed the cases of Lopez and the others were dropped. In the trial of Henderson, therefore, the fate of Lopez and the others was virtually being settled. The *Delta* says: "Lopez, Henderson and others were tried for violation of the neutrality laws. The act under which this prosecution was instituted was the act of April 20, 1818.

The sixth section of the act is as follows:

"That if any person shall, within the territory and the jurisdiction of the United States, begin or set on foot, or provide, or prepare the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominions of any foreign prince or State, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding \$3,000, and imprisoned not more than three years."

"The third section pronounced penalties against any person, whether citizen of the United States or not, who shall, within the limits of

violation of the neutrality laws, but they all escaped conviction by technicalities of the law, and on account of the sympathy of the people in the section where they were tried.

The United States sent a warship to Havana, demanding the release of the men captured by Spanish authorities off the coast of Mexico. In case any Americans were unjustly put to death, Secretary Clayton informed the Spanish minister that it would in all probability lead to war.† The prisoners were finally released by Spain.

The failure of this expedition did not discourage Lopez and his

the United States, fit out and arm, or attempt to fit out and arm, any ship or vessel with intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of a foreign prince, etc. * * * to commit hostilities against the people of a foreign State with whom the United States are at peace.'

"General Henderson, in a speech in his own defense, spoke as follows:

"I contend there was no violation of our neutrality law, because there was no military expedition carried on, or intended to be carried on, from the territory of the United States, and the district of Louisiana, against Cuba. The expedition which went to Cuba was constituted, I admit, from three several bodies of men which went to Mugerres in the *Georgiana Susan Loud*, and the steamer *Creole*; but these people had no connection here in the United States, nor had they any type, form or shape of military organization. True, the men who became officers and those who became privates, went from the United States. So, too, of the arms and ammunition with which they were supplied at Mugerres. So, too, of their food and other supplies there furnished. But all these went from the United States as crude materials, and were combined and organized beyond the territory of the United States, and in a foreign jurisdiction. A law of Congress which would forbid the exportation of cotton cloth does not interdict the exportation of every article of which it is composed. The raw cotton, the machinery, and the men and women to manufacture it may all go to Mugerres and make cotton cloth, and sell it abroad, without violating such a law. And this is true of every conceivable thing, which consists of aggregate materials. * * * It is shown from evidence that I provided no means for any expedition, whether a military expedition, carried on from the United States or not, as General Lopez, by the sale and proceeds of his bonds, provided all the means. * * * I negotiated for the steamer *Creole*, and paid her price, \$10,000 in cash, \$2,000 in my note as cash and \$4,000 in Cuban bonds. But the fact, as proved, is that all these expenditures were paid for in Cuban bonds or their proceeds, and nothing was contributed by me. Now the means provided by Lopez from the sale of his bonds are as direct as if raised by the sale of a bill of exchange brought with him from Cuba, and just as direct as if he had handed me the money in gold to pay for the *Creole* so bought. * * * The offender under this law must be an actor, and guilty of an action made penal by the statute. He must responsibly participate in a forbidden act. He must have begun, or set on foot, or provided, or prepared the means for a military expedition, to be carried on from the United States, etc. I have done neither; and, therefore, have I not offended the law.'"

†"Warn him," said Clayton, * * * "that if he unjustly sheds one drop of American blood at this exciting period, it may cost the two countries a sanguinary war." Von Holst, *History of United States*, Vol. 1850-54, page 54.

sympathizers. In some respects it could scarcely be called a failure. The invaders had shown bravery, had defeated the Spanish soldiers within a few miles of Havana, and had withdrawn only because they had not been supported by the natives—a fact for which they readily found explanations that were at least plausible. They had evaded and escaped the Spanish warships and been given protection and a hearty welcome home by the United States garrison at Key West. To crown it all, the leaders had been tried before a United States court, and had come forth with flying colors. Moreover, in Cuba itself there were encouraging signs. In the summer of 1851 the revolutionary movement became more general, especially in the central and eastern departments. The citizens of Puerto Principe drew up a formal declaration of independence. Trinidad and Villa Clara did likewise.

Lopez was as much a hero as ever, and set to work organizing a third expedition. New Orleans was again the point of departure, and here in the summer of 1851 he gathered his force. Many of the men had already seen active service, some of them in the Mexican war. There were also many men who joined from youthful enthusiasm and recklessness.

The organization* of this force was confided to General Pragay, formerly Adjutant-General in the Hungarian Army. There was also a complete corps of engineers, composed chiefly of Hungarians under Major Rugendorf. This Hungarian contingent was composed of Kossuth's compatriots, who like himself were forced to flee from their country after the termination of their unsuccessful revolution. There was a company composed exclusively of Creoles and Spaniards, including the soldiers who deserted to General Lopez at Cardenas, all under the command of Captain Gotay. The rest of the command were Americans, mostly from New Orleans and Mississippi. There were men in the expedition from all the Southern States, and there were a few from the cities of the North. These were commanded by Colonel Crittenden, a nephew of the Attorney-General of the United States, a graduate of the West Point Military Academy, and by Colonel R. L. Downman of Georgia, with Major J. A. Kelly, Captains Saunders, Brigham, Stewart, Ellis, Victor Kerr and others.

There were large parties formed throughout the South for the

*See *New York Tribune*, September 2, 1851.

purpose of going to Cuba. Many of these, on account of lack of transportation, were unable to join the expedition.† Others reached New Orleans too late to join Lopez. Among the latter was a body of Kentuckians, under Colonels Pickett, Bell and Hawkins.

Lopez having completed his plans for the third expedition, ‡ sailed from New Orleans on the *Pampero* early in the morning of August 3, 1851. Touching at Key West he was informed that the Cuban revolutionists were anxious and ready to join him.* He immediately set sail and landed at Morrillos, Bahia Honda, about fifty miles from Havana. Knowing his force to be too small to engage the Spanish reinforcements, which were coming, Lopez decided to march to the interior, to Las Pozas.

His purpose was to reach the mountains from which he thought he could beat back the Spaniards, while he organized a strong and effective fighting force, around whose standards the Cuban insurgents could rally. This was probably the correct movement. His fatal mistake was the separation of his forces, which resulted in the capture of Crittenden's party, thus giving an early impression of his weakness and destroying all hope of assistance from the Cuban insurgents.

Orders were given Crittenden to remain with one hundred and fourteen men and guard the extra guns and ammunition. The plan was for Lopez with the rest of the command to proceed to Las

†The New Orleans *Delta* of August 26, 1851, stated that there were three thousand men in the city desiring transportation to Cuba. The number probably was greatly exaggerated, but there is no doubt that many more men would have gone had the transportation facilities been greater.

‡The account of this expedition given by President Fillmore in his second annual message, December 2, 1851, is interesting, as it gives very fully the standpoint of the administration. See *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, page 113. The best original sources of information in regard to this expedition are long letters by Kelly and Summers, both officers in the party. These are to be found in the New York *Tribune* of September 23, 1851. Many other letters can be found in the papers of the time. Of these one by Van Vetchen is interesting, but seems strongly biased.

*The New York *Tribune* of September 9, 1851, said, "One of the rumors that have reached us in connection with this disastrous expedition is that when it sailed from New Orleans the intention was to proceed to Puerto Principe, but that on arriving at Key West, Lopez found there a letter from a well-known speculator at Havana, with whom he had before had some correspondence, informing him falsely that the *Vuelta de Abaja* and *Pinas del Rio* were in full revolt, and that he would accordingly do well to go there with his forces. This advice he decided to follow, not suspecting its treachery, and so fell into a snare set for him by Concha."

Pozas and thence transmit wagons that night, so that Crittenden could come on with the stores early next morning.

Lopez arrived at Las Pozas about twelve o'clock that day, and having procured some carts sent them towards Crittenden's party. He believed, and assured his men, that they would not be attacked for two or three days, and the men gave themselves up to careless ease and enjoyment. On the next day at Las Pozas they were attacked by a large body of Spanish troops. The Spanish were repulsed and retreated in the direction of Crittenden's command. But Lopez's party lost a number of men, including General Pragay, Colonel Downman and Captain Gotay.

In this engagement the men fought as they thought best, few orders being given. General Lopez was in the thickest of the fight. Although he was insensible to fear, it was quite perceptible that he was oppressed by the aspect of affairs. After the battle he ordered Captain Ellis's company and another to pursue the enemy, and to go through to Crittenden. They attempted to do so, but finding the enemy too strong, they returned to Las Pozas.

Meanwhile Crittenden's party,* having been ordered to join Lopez at once, set out for Las Pozas. While they were breakfasting on the roadside without proper precautions, they were suddenly attacked by a superior body of Spanish troops. These were repulsed, but the surprise taught them no lesson, and before they were ready for the march and while still unprepared, they were again attacked by a large body of troops.

After beating off the attack, Colonel Crittenden took eighty men and started off to charge the enemy, leaving Captain Kelly with orders to maintain his position until his return. Kelly waited several hours, and then thinking he must have formed a junction with Lopez, set out for Las Pozas, and after a difficult march, joined Lopez just before the evacuation of that town.

Crittenden, after leaving Kelly, attacked the Spanish, but was

*The New York Tribune of September 3, 1851, quotes the following from the *Delta* in regard to Crittenden. The writer's name is not given:

"We knew him first in the Mexican War, and in many a bivouac shared his blanket. * * * A few days before he left we met him, and a wish that we could accompany him was expressed. We earnestly advised against embarking in the enterprise; we spoke our incredulity of the report that the Cubans had risen. He answered that he was no freebooter; that he could not be induced to join the expedition were not the people of Cuba in arms against their rulers. That a revolution had actually commenced, that the Cubans were in the field, he assured us he knew from statements of parties who had given him their confidence."

finally defeated and forced to flee. He was now without ammunition or supplies, and without any knowledge of the country. With a small band of followers he wandered about for two days and nights, without a morsel of food or a drop of water. At last they reached the beach and embarked upon four small vessels, with the intention of returning to the United States.* While on the water they were overhauled by Spanish warships and carried as prisoners to Havana, where they were at once condemned to death and executed.† Claiborne, who seems to have been in close touch with the expedition, gives the following vivid description of the scene:‡

"Stripped to the shirt, their hands bound behind their backs, they were carried in front of the castle of Atares, guarded by the Spanish troops, and dogged by the ferocious rabble. * * * Pale as ghosts, attenuated by exposure and fatigue, they fearlessly faced their grim executioners, and calmly surveyed the apparatus of death—the leveled muskets and the file of dead-carts waiting for their remains. No invocation for delay, no cry for mercy, no last promise of treacherous revelation with the hope of pardon, was heard from them during the protracted ordeal. In squads of six they were successively shot down, the officers being reserved for the last. When ordered to his knees Crittenden replied, 'Americans kneel only to their God.' They were ordered to reverse their position. 'No,' said Victor Kerr, 'we look death in the face.' 'Cowards,' cried Stanford, 'our friends will avenge us.' 'Liberty

*See letters of Crittenden, New Orleans *Delta*, October 12, 1851.

Also see Stanford's letter, *Delta*, August 25, 1851.

†A full description of the execution is given in the *Delta* of September 1, 1851. Claiborne gives the names of those who were shot.

When the news of this execution reached New Orleans there was great excitement. The *Delta* of August 22, 1851, said: "The men who had come to New Orleans too late to go to Cuba not only took no part in this violence; but volunteered their services to preserve order. Amongst these was a party of Kentuckians under Colonels Pickett, Bell, and Hawkins. The first act of vengeance on the part of the mob was the destruction of the printing office of the Spanish paper, *La Union*, which had taken the part of the Spanish authorities and had denounced the filibusters. The office was destroyed, but no violence was used upon the inmates. The shops of several Spaniards in the city were destroyed. The rioters next visited the office of the Spanish Consul. The Consul's sign was torn down and burnt, and his headless effigy borne by the crowds through the streets of the city." His papers were scattered and the picture of the Spanish monarch was defaced. For the injury done to the Consul and his office our Congress afterwards granted an indemnity.

‡*Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, Vol. II, page 90.

forever!" exclaimed Lieutenant James, and his last words mingled with the crash of musketry, and echoed over the sea. The corpses of the fifty lay upon the ground."

Lopez, meanwhile, remained at Las Pozas until Captain Kelly arrived with about thirty men and assured him that it was vain to wait longer for Crittenden. The army was then put in motion for the mountains. About midday on the 17th they marched to a plantation formerly owned by Lopez. While here they were approached by a strong body of troops. Lopez did not wait for the Spanish to attack him, but led his men in a wild charge against them. After a spirited engagement, in which General Enna, the second ranking Spanish officer in Cuba, was killed, the Spanish retired, and Lopez continued his march into the interior.

Several days were spent in marching, and as it was during the rainy season, much damage was done to the arms and ammunition of the command by the heavy and incessant rains. The food supply was inadequate, the store of ammunition was very low, and the men for the first time became discouraged. When they arrived at Rosario they demanded of the General what prospects of aid he had, and not being satisfied with his assurances, determined to leave him and proceed toward the coast. The next day they were surprised and attacked by the Spanish. The greater part of their muskets being damaged by the storms, they were unable to withstand the attack, but scattered and retreated to the mountains.

The command was now entirely without food, their arms and ammunition were made useless, and still the rains continued. In this condition they were again attacked. Scattered in small bands they continued their wanderings, being in the most deplorable condition from exhaustion and hunger. Soon all of them were either captured, or surrendered from exhaustion.

The little band with Lopez numbered but thirty, and these were reduced to the lowest stage of suffering and starvation. He begged these to leave him and surrender, because there would be no chance for them if caught with him. Finally he left them, accompanied by one faithful friend. Wounded and exhausted from fatigue he was pursued and captured by some Catalans. He surrendered, exclaiming, "Kill me, but pardon my men." On the 31st he was taken in the *Pizarro* to Havana, and the order for his execution issued.

The New York papers give the following account of his execution:*

"At the fatal hour General Lopez was brought out and ascended the platform with a firm step. His person was enveloped in a white shroud. The executioner then removed the shroud, and there stood the General in his full military uniform before the assembled multitude. His appearance was calm, dignified and heroic. Not a muscle quivered. He looked upon the preparations for death unmoved; his countenance changed not, and his whole bearing was firm and manly.

The executioner now removed his embroidered coat, his sash, cravat, and all the insignia of his military rank, in token of disgrace. General Lopez, with his hands tightly bound together in front, stepped forward, and in a strong, clear voice slowly spoke to those around as follows:

"I pray the persons who have compromised me to pardon me as I pardon them.

"My death will not change the destinies of Cuba.' (The executioner, standing a little behind, here interrupted him in an insulting tone, with 'Come, be quick, be quick.')

"General Lopez, turning his head partly around, fixed his eye on the man, and said sternly, gritting his teeth, 'Wait, sir.' He then continued:

"Adieu, my beloved Cuba. Adieu, my brethren.'

"The General then stepped back, seated himself on the stool. A priest with the crucifix and taper stood on one side of him, the executioner on the other. The collar was then placed around the prisoner's neck. The priest now placed the crucifix between the General's hands, and, just as he was in the act of inclining his head to kiss it, the executioner swung the fatal screw, and the head of the unfortunate man at the same instant dropped forward, touching the crucifix. He never moved again. There sat the body of one of the bravest men that ever drew breath, but a moment ago alive, now a ghastly corpse.

"The execution was conducted in the most orderly manner and in perfect silence. No shouting or any other exhibition of applause was manifest. Whether this was the result of the news from New

*New York Tribune of September 9, 1851.

Orleans or the express orders of the Captain-General, is not known.”*

After the failure of this third and last expedition under Lopez, the United States and Spain were engaged in diplomatic discussion in regard to the execution of Crittenden's party, and also as to the disposal of the prisoners remaining in Spanish hands. The President's policy had from the first been as conciliatory toward Spain as any reasonable person could ask. By proclamations, by instructions to the civil officers, and by the use of the navy, every effort had been made to stop the expeditions. The President's vigorous denunciation of the filibusters was cited by the Spanish Governor of Cuba as an excuse for his immediate execution of Crittenden's party, and was also given by the United States Consul at Havana, Mr. Owen, as an explanation of his failure to extend to them either sympathy or assistance.* He publicly expressed his regret at the New Orleans riot, and recommended to Congress that an indemnity be granted to the Spanish Consul there.† After the execution of Crittenden's party was announced, he took measures to ascertain whether any of them were American citizens, and if they were, by what evidence their guilt of a crime deserving so summary a punishment had been established; and also to ascertain the facts in relation to the alleged firing on the United States mail steamer, *Falcon*, by a Spanish ship of war, and how far this proceeding was approved by public authority. For this purpose Commodore Foxhall A. Parker, commanding the Home Squadron, was sent to Havana in the *Saranac*.

The diplomatic situation was a difficult one, but the President's course was a conciliatory one, and was in the end successful. The

*Great mass meetings were held throughout the United States to express sympathy with the Cuban revolutionists and to denounce the conduct of Spain. Many were held in New Orleans, which was the center of the anti-Spanish feeling. An immense gathering assembled in Philadelphia, numbering it was said 12,000. Large crowds gathered also in Savannah and Mobile. In New York the crowd was estimated by the *Herald* to exceed 4,000. In the evening there was a procession. "On the whole," said the *Herald*, "the meeting passed off very well; at least 15,000 persons were in attendance."

†On April 25, 1854, he had warned those engaged in these enterprises that they would "forfeit their claim to the protection of this Government or any interference in their behalf, no matter to what extremities they may be reduced in consequence of their illegal conduct."

‡See his second annual message, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, page 118.

Americans captured subsequently to the execution of Crittenden's party were carried to Havana.† Some were released here, but most of them were transported to Spain. After a short captivity these were all released.||

The chief cause which led to the failure of Lopez's plans was undoubtedly the lack of Cuban support, but this was itself due, at least in part, to the incompetence of the Cuban leaders. Men of discretion were needed, who would know the proper time to strike and would comprehend the combinations necessary for a revolutionary movement. Furthermore, the Cubans were destitute of arms and ammunition. The extensive system of espionage enabled the Spanish authorities to pounce upon any suspected person with such promptness as to cut him off from all communication with his friends.

The small size of the force carried to Cuba by Lopez was, moreover, a fatal blunder. Had he carried a sufficient force to hold the Spanish in check for a reasonable time, it is not impossible that the Cubans might have rallied around his standard and their cause might have been successful.

Unfortunate also was the division of the forces and the destruction of Crittenden's command early in the campaign. The report of this, exaggerated as it was, dampened the ardor of the Cubans. They took it to be a failure of the whole enterprise, and those who had gathered at various points dispersed.

After the failure of the expedition of Lopez, there is easily perceptible a change in the attitude of the American people toward Cuban Independence. The desire for annexation was still widespread in the South, and indignation at the treatment of the prisoners by the Spanish authorities was slow in dying out; but the Cubans had failed to strike for their independence at the critical moment, and American sympathy for them was greatly diminished.

†For an account of the diplomatic negotiations see Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster*, Vol. II, pages 547 *et seq.*

||The New York *Tribune* of September 23, 1851, gives a list of the captives, but the spelling is so inaccurate as to throw doubt on its trustworthiness.

THE DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE FOR THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND THE SOUTHWESTERN BOUNDARY.

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS, PH.D., of Hendrix College, Arkansas.

Recent political events and the celebration of the century of the acquisition of Louisiana have lent additional charm to the always interesting struggle made by Mr. Jefferson for the control of the Mississippi river. This chapter of history has long been a favorite theme with historians, but the beginnings of the struggle have received scant notice at the hands of our writers. The closing of the river by the Spanish commandant when the territory was acquired from France has necessitated an explanation that we had secured the right of navigation by a treaty with Spain in 1795; but very few of our historians have given more than a passing notice to the negotiations leading up to that treaty, though they form one of the most interesting chapters in our diplomatic history. Some have begun their account with the year 1784, but, in order to understand it fully, it is necessary to go back of that period several years. The position of Spain will then be better understood and the important bearing of the dispute on the subsequent course of American history will be more apparent.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution Great Britain had undisputed possession of all territory east of the Mississippi, including the Floridas, except the island of New Orleans. Early in 1778 France joined the colonies in their struggle with England, and then the active friendship of Spain was eagerly sought. So early as 1776 she had given assistance to the extent of one million francs through France, but this was simply to keep up the disaffection of the colonies as a source of irritation to her ancient enemy. In spirit she really was hostile to their independence; consequently, as the war progressed and independence was generally understood to be the issue, she became less and less inclined to render assistance. But after the rupture between France and England, she was finally (June, 1779) drawn into the circle of war, apparently by the hope of avenging her wrongs and of recovering her lost possessions.

The final rupture was brought about by an offer of mediation on

the part of Spain between Great Britain and her revolting colonies, which offer was based on the independence of the latter. But in spite of this and of the fact that M. de Rayneval was instructed by Spain to insist on the independence of the United States as a preliminary condition for peace in 1782 there is not much evidence that American interests were ever dear to the Spanish heart. Indeed, there is no little to the contrary. The Federal Congress were very anxious to secure the accession of Spain to their treaty with France, offering as an inducement to guarantee her the possession of the Floridas, but claiming at the same time the right to navigate the Mississippi River. In September, 1779, Mr. John Jay was chosen minister plenipotentiary to Madrid and instructed to treat on the foregoing basis. That he was coldly received may be inferred from the following:

Before the news of Jay's appointment reached Spain his Catholic Majesty instructed the French minister to inform Congress that he would treat on the following basis: (1) A precise and invariable western boundary to the United States; (2) the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi; (3) the possession of the Floridas; and (4) of the lands on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. With regard to boundary the cabinet of Madrid thought that the United States extended no farther west than settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation bearing date the 7th day of [October], 1763. It was further advised that the southern states be restrained from making settlements in the country bordering on the Mississippi, as it was British territory which Spain intended to conquer. In reply Congress unanimously reaffirmed the right to the Mississippi and declared that they could not assign the people who had settled near the river to any other power, as they were citizens of the United States and friendly to the Revolution. Mr. Jay was further instructed to try to secure the right to navigate the rivers flowing through West Florida, should Spain come into possession of that territory. But in the winter of 1780-81 the tide of war was running against the Americans, and the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia, fearing that their country might be held by the British on the principle of a *uti possidetis*, should a sudden peace become necessary, asked that further concessions be made to Spain. To this Congress agreed February 15, 1781, and instructed Jay to recede from their claim to the free navigation of so much of

the Mississippi as lay below the thirty-first parallel, provided the same was guaranteed to that above, but at the same time ordered him to use every effort to secure the right to the whole. But Spain showed no disposition to yield, and Congress in turn repealed this limitation and left our ambassador to pursue the course prescribed in his original instructions.

In May, 1782, Jay left Madrid for Paris, where he went to enter upon peace negotiations with England's representative. While there, however, he often met and talked with the Count d'Aranda, who had been empowered by the Spanish Court to continue negotiations. That gentleman boldly declared that the western country had never belonged to the ancient colonies; that previous to 1763 it had belonged to France; and that after its cession to Great Britain it had remained a distinct part of her possessions until, by conquest of certain posts, it became vested in Spain; and further, if the Spanish right did not extend to all of said territory, it was possessed by free Indians whose land belonged to neither of the disputants. When Jay asked him to indicate the western boundary on the map he drew a line from a lake east of the Flint River in Georgia to the mouth of the Kanawha River, and from there to the western shores of Lakes Erie and Huron. In a note dated September 10, Jay informed d'Aranda that he had no authority to cede territory belonging to the United States and that he could do nothing more in regard to the proposed line than wait for and follow the instructions of Congress||. A short reply from the Count closed the exchange of notes; nor did later conferences bring them any nearer to an agreement.

Extravagant as the claims of the Count may seem, they were not without the shadow of a basis. Although he does not seem to have mentioned it, this line probably was based on the royal proclamation referred to by the king in his instructions to the French minister quoted above. By this proclamation the British king forbade his "loving subjects to make any settlements or purchases whatever westward of the rivers which fall into the sea." He announced that the western lands were to be reserved for the Indians. But the colonies regarded such a change in their boundaries as beyond the royal prerogative and paid no attention to it. However, Spain probably cared very little about the proclamation; this

||*Dip. Cor. Amer. Rev.* (Wharton) VI, 25 f.

claim was only a part of the general policy which she and several other European nations pursued in their effort to coop up the United States between the Appalachian Mountains and the sea.

Mr. Jay and his colleagues were more successful in their negotiations with England, for by November 30, 1782, provisional articles for a treaty of peace had been agreed upon. In this treaty it was stipulated that the southern boundary of the United States should be defined "by a line to be drawn due east from the Mississippi river in the latitude of 31 degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Appalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. By a separate secret article it was agreed that the line should run due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river to the Appalachicola, in case Great Britain should recover, or be put in possession of West Florida at the conclusion of the war. January 20, 1783, preliminary articles were signed by Great Britain and Spain by which the former ceded East and West Florida to the latter. September 3, Great Britain signed definitive treaties with both powers. In that with the United States our boundaries were described as in the preliminary treaty; neither in the preliminary nor in the definite treaty with Spain was anything said about the boundaries of the Floridas.

The next communication with Spain was only semi-official. In February, 1783, Lafayette, in response to a request from Mr. Carmichael, went to Madrid to assist him in getting recognition as *chargé d'affaires* for the United States. In a few days he had a conversation with Florida Blanca, a member of the Spanish cabinet, in which more friendliness was manifested toward the new nation than had been shown hitherto. But Lafayette wanted something in black and white, and forthwith addressed a note to the Count, giving Spain's position as he had understood him to represent it, and asking him if his impression was correct. It was to the effect that his Catholic Majesty had adopted the limits as determined by the preliminary treaty of November 30, and that the fear of raising an object of dissension was the only objection the king had to the free navigation of the Mississippi.†. In three days the Count replied in the affirmative, but added that "although

†*Dip. Cor. Amer. Rev.* p. 257.

his Majesty intends to abide by said limits, yet he intends to inform himself particularly whether it can be by any ways inconvenient or prejudicial to settle that affair amicably with the United States." On the same day Lafayette addressed another note to the Count, asking for an explanation of this addition. In the presence of the French ambassador he was informed that this referred only to some unimportant details which would be amicably regulated and would by no means oppose the general principle.

But we may very well doubt if the Count was correct in his representations. About the only fixed principle we can feel sure the Spanish Court had in regard to the United States was one of hostility to their real interests. At the same time the Count de Montmorin, the French minister at Madrid, had a conversation with the King on American affairs, but his only answer to the Count's representations was, *Veremos*.† Nor did the other ministers seem so well disposed as Florida Blanca. M. de Galvez, who had charge of the Department of the Indies, told Lafayette that he had sent orders to the Spanish Governors to abide by the limits claimed for the present, but was of the opinion that those limits would not do. However, the "favorable disposition" of the King was continually held out. March 29, Jay was informed by the Spanish ambassador at Paris that the Court desired him to return to Madrid and there complete the treaty. July 19, and again August 30, Mr. Carmichael wrote that Florida Blanca still assured him of the King's "favorable disposition," but added that de Galvez wished the whole American continent at the bottom of the ocean.

In less than a year this "favorable disposition" of the King was manifested in a remarkable way. In a communication to Francisco Rendon, agent of the Court of Madrid, dated June 26, 1784, Joseph de Galvez says: "His majesty commands you to give the States and Congress to understand that they are not to expose to process and confiscation their vessels on the Mississippi, inasmuch as a treaty concluded between the United States and England, on which the former ground their pretensions to the navigation of that river, could not fix limits in a territory which that power did not possess, the two borders of the river being already conquered and possessed by our arms the day the treaty was made, namely the 30th of November, 1782."

†*Dip. Cor. Amer. Rev.* (Wharton) VI, 259.

Some of our historians take this manifesto for their text in discussing the dispute, and then proceed to lay the blame for it on the separate article in our treaty with Great Britain. But there are several things which cause us to doubt the correctness of this view. In the first place the purport of that article was known to the King nearly a year before he took this step. As early as March, 1783, it was not regarded as a secret in America, nor did the Americans suppose it to be unknown in Europe, England, as it seems, having taken no precaution to conceal it. Again, the King makes no direct reference to it, nor was it ever afterwards seriously made the basis of a claim for the southern boundary. So late as August, 1786, Jay declared that he could not reduce the Spanish claims to definiteness. The main thing about which the King was concerned was our western limits and the navigation of the Mississippi. Those questions settled to his satisfaction, the southern boundary would take care of itself, for there would hardly be any at all. Still further, the dispute was a very old one, dating from the settlement of Carolina and Florida. In all of their treaties Spain and Great Britain never agreed upon any boundary between these colonies. In the treaty of 1670 it was agreed that Great Britain should retain "what she possessed" in America, but this boundary line still remained the subject of dispute. Nor did Spain ever recede from her claims, in spite of the fact that Great Britain's were backed by long years of possession. What was more natural then than that she should press them when the country had fallen into the hands of a weaker power? As for the navigation of the Mississippi, Gardoqui subsequently declared to Jay that it was and always had been the policy of Spain to exclude all mankind from the Gulf—from her American shores.

But whatever may have been the immediate cause of this note of defiance, it struck Congress like a thunderbolt. The country, too, was thoroughly aroused. Some were for bidding defiance to Spain at once, but others thought the Mississippi of far less importance than Spanish trade, and proposed to give it up; still others recognized the importance of trade with Spain, but were unwilling to purchase it at the sacrifice of a western empire, and favored further negotiations. This sentiment prevailed in Congress, which body had already (June 3, 1784) instructed our ministers plenipotentiary for negotiating commercial treaties with foreign powers not to relinquish or cede, in any event, the right to navigate the Missis-

issippi from its source to the ocean. They now (December 17), 1784) resolved to send a special minister to Madrid to adjust the Mississippi and "other matters," and ordered the committee on foreign affairs to prepare a draft of instructions. But before Mr. Jay, the chosen minister, set out, a communication was received from Florida Blanca, dated October 8, in which he informed Congress that M. Gardoqui had been appointed *chargé d'affaires* to the United States. Four days later Mr. Carmichael wrote that Gardoqui was in fact a minister empowered to treat, and sent what he considered documentary evidence that the navigation of the Mississippi was a subject open to discussion, despite representations that had been made and would again be made to the contrary.

Gardoqui himself arrived in July, 1785. Congress, finding him very agreeable, and no doubt remembering Carmichael's letter, instructed Jay to be very firm in his demand for the Mississippi. But Gardoqui could be as firm as he was engaging. His master would yield many things to the States, said he, but it was a waste of time to discuss that question.

Mr. Jay declared, in the course of his negotiations, that he found himself much hampered by certain restrictions that had been laid upon him by Congress. The first was an order (July 20, 1785) to make known to them all propositions to be made or received by him before agreeing to the same. This was soon afterwards repealed, but on the same day (August 25) Congress passed another resolution which proved to be the real obstacle to the conclusion of the treaty. After nearly a year of fruitless negotiation Jay wrote to Congress (May 29) stating that he experienced certain difficulties which he thought should be so managed that even their existence should remain a secret for the present, and asking for the appointment of a committee to instruct him on every point. This letter was referred to a committee, and later (August 3), Jay himself was ordered to appear in person and explain to Congress his troubles and desires. His trouble was the resolution of August 25, wherein he was instructed to hold to the boundary and right of navigation as stipulated in the treaty with Great Britain. The question of navigation, said he, was the real bone of contention, and this was not important now. Spain now excluded us and we could secure the right only by war, for which we were not prepared.

The Spanish representative also found causes of irritation. In

1782, said he, Thomas Green went from Georgia and settled at Natchez under Spanish authority. Afterwards he was appointed Governor of those parts by Georgia and was troubling the Spanish. The delegates from Georgia disavowed (October 3, 1785) his appointment as "Governor of those parts," though it could not be denied that Georgia had erected the Yazoo district into the county of Bourbon, and declared that emigrants were expressly inhibited from molesting the Spanish or others in possession there. June 30, 1786, Gardoqui again complained of troubles in the Southwest, referring in particular to Indians friendly to the Spanish. Congress ordered a copy of his note to be sent to the Governor of Georgia, and expressed, in a resolution, the hope that negotiations would not be hindered by irritating measures on either side. At a still later date (August, 1787) Gardoqui's ire was raised by an open letter to himself published in the *Charleston Gazette* by one John Sullivan, threatening to turn the whole West against Natchez and New Orleans. §

Up to the time of the reception of the King's manifesto (1784) the votes on the question at issue had hardly shown any signs of sectional cleavage. But when Jay's proposition was laid before Congress it at once brought into prominence the lines of separation which ultimately rent the Union in twain. August 28, 1786, his instructions were taken up in Congress and brought on a spirited discussion which lasted several days. The South had lost confidence in Jay and favored revoking his commission. The delegates from Virginia presented a severe arraignment of his proposition, showing that no commercial advantage would be gained by it, as we already had every right that Spain agreed to grant in the treaty, hence the surrender of the Mississippi on that ground was inadmissible. Besides, the surrender of navigation would depreciate the value of the western lands, which were held as a fund for the payment of the public debt, and would injure the public creditors. The proposed treaty, abridging the right of navigation, would violate the Articles of Confederation, because rights not delegated were reserved to the States. That they had the right to navigate the Mississippi was too well established to need inquiry. The resolution closed with a demand for the revocation of Jay's commission and the appointment of five commissioners to act with him, but it was supported by only five States from Maryland to Georgia.

But the Eastern States could not see that the navigation of the Mississippi was a matter of immediate concern, especially to themselves, and they were anxious for the conclusion of a commercial treaty, regardless of the West, in the hope that it would revive their languishing commerce. The report of the committee of the whole, which instructed Jay to obtain all he could, but authorized him to surrender the right of navigation below the thirty-first parallel and forbade him to agree to any boundary except that line, received the assent of seven States (August 31), all the Southern States dissenting. The dissenting delegates, led by Pinckney and Monroe, made a stubborn fight against accepting this as the decision of Congress. They pointed out that the assent of nine States was necessary for the ratification of a treaty (Art. IX.), and offered a resolution to the effect that Jay's original instructions were still in force. The truth of this proposition ought to have been too evident to admit of discussion, but the vote stood five for, to seven against. September 28, Pinckney renewed this motion but was ruled out of order. On appeal, the chair was sustained, the Southern delegates dividing. Jay was eager enough to accept the decision of the majority, and he renewed negotiations on the basis of his new instructions.

But while the negotiations were being carried on the West was becoming more and more aroused. A trader named Amis had been stopped at Natchez by the Spanish authorities, who still held that place, and his goods had been confiscated.† The story of his wrongs soon spread over the West, and when rumors that Jay intended to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi reached that section, indignation burst into a flame. The Kentucky delegates who sat in the Virginia Assembly presented a petition to that body in which they vigorously protested against Jay's proposition, and boldly maintained the right of the United States to the river.

Internal, as well as foreign, affairs were now approaching a crisis, and it is hardly too much to say that this petition was not without some influence in shaping our national destiny. The Federal Government was becoming more impotent every day. The Annapolis Convention had met and adjourned, but no State had followed its recommendations. Madison was now busy laying plans to have his State lead off by adopting its report and electing dele-

†*Dip. Cor.* 1783-89 (Edit. 1837) III, 248 f.

gates. To his dismay, however, he found that many Virginians who had been zealous supporters of the Federal authority had had their ardor cooled by the behavior of Congress toward the West. On going to Richmond he found (November 1) that the Mississippi affair was imperfectly known there, and he decided to hurry through the report of the deputies to the Annapolis Convention before it began to ferment. This report was adopted unanimously. But he had no disposition to avoid the Mississippi question. On the contrary he saw that it would be useless to hold a convention unless that matter was disposed of in some way, for between the right of navigation and union the South would not hesitate to choose. He had already expressed his amazement in a letter to Monroe (June 26, 1786) that the thought of surrendering the Mississippi should even be entertained. Therefore, when a resolution embodying the ideas of the Kentucky petition, but less violent in language, was introduced he gave it his hearty support, and it too was unanimously adopted. Soon after this he returned to Congress (February 12) with this resolution in his pocket, mainly, as he himself says, to defeat Jay's proposed treaty.

Early in March the Virginia delegates had a conversation with Gardoqui in which that gentleman had the audacity, though not without hesitation, to put forward the King's old claim, not only to the river, but also to territory on its eastern bank to the Ohio. April 11, Jay, in obedience to an order of Congress, reported the state of his negotiations. Gardoqui, he said, would not agree even to a clause clearly implying our right to navigate the Mississippi but yielding it for twenty-five years. The best that he would agree to was the right of common navigation down to the southern boundary of the United States, below which they could not go. As for the boundary, he might be induced to accept that described in the separate article of the preliminary treaty with Great Britain.* But later events proved that the wily Spaniard had over-reached himself. As he became more inflexible and unreasonable in his demands, relying upon a threatening attitude to intimidate the impotent Confederation, the country became more and more aroused. The reception of new instructions and the appearance of new delegates changed the attitude of Congress, and its pliant majority disappeared. Even Jay was growing less ardent for the

**Dip. Cor.* 1783-89 (Edit. 1837) III, 231 f.

Spanish. In his report to Congress he seemed not to be inclined to accede to Gardoqui's demands and actually spoke of war to secure the Mississippi. Madison, the leader of the Southern view, now commanded a majority of the States present, but not a majority of the Confederation, consequently no motion could be passed. But he at least had the satisfaction of knowing that no such treaty as Jay had proposed would receive the assent of Congress. After several days of spirited debate that body finally adjourned without taking any action in regard to the matter. About seventeen months afterwards the question again came up and Congress then resolved, September 16, 1788: "That the free navigation of the river Mississippi is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such. That no further progress be made in the negotiations with Spain by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs; but that the subject to which they relate be referred to the Federal Government, which is to assemble in March next."† The next month Jay informed Gardoqui of this action. July 24, 1789, he wrote to President Washington that he had permission to return home and would avail himself of the first opportunity to sail for Spain. After his departure nothing more was heard of the matter for several years.

The attitude of Spain in dealing with the States is not hard to understand. Her persistent refusal to recognize their independence, even after she had made such recognition on the part of England a preliminary condition for the treaty of peace in 1782, was not wholly without object. Their separation from England would weaken her ancient enemy, but the acknowledgment of their independence might be taken as a *quasi* acknowledgment of their territorial extent and throw diplomatic obstacles in the way of establishing her old claims and extending her borders at their expense. The long drawn-out negotiations accorded with her tendency to put off what was troublesome and vexatious. The conduct of Gardoqui may have had something more of design in it. Jay complained that the debates in Congress and the conversation of members out of doors were not unknown to the Spaniard.* Gardoqui really knew the divided sentiment of the country as well as Jay, and probably hoped to aggravate the troubles between the

†See *Journ. Cong.* IV, 433, *Dip. Cor.* 1783-84 (Edit. 1837) III, 276.

**Dip. Cor.* 1783-84 (Edit. 1837) III, 253.

North and South by holding out promises of commercial advantages to the one and assuming a threatening attitude toward the other. The dissolution of the Union might prove more advantageous to Spain than the most favorable treaty he could now obtain from Jay; and so, the more impotent Congress grew, the more his hopes were raised. It was when the signs of the times pointed to an early dissolution of that moribund body that he ventured to claim territory to the Ohio.

Just here it will be worth while to bring into one view the historical grounds upon which the respective claims of the United States and Spain were based. It has already been stated that the boundary dispute began with the settlement of Carolina and Florida. Whatever had been the claims and rights of Great Britain had fallen by inheritance to the United States.

In the first charter of Carolina (1630) the southern boundary was declared to be at the thirtieth parallel. Later (1663) it was put at the thirty-first by Charles II, and then (1665) pushed down to the twenty-ninth. But Spain never agreed to any of these lines. In the treaty of 1670 she did agree for England to retain "what she possessed" in America, but this settled nothing and the dispute continued. The charter of Georgia (1732) extended her territory only to the Altamaha, but South Carolina still claimed jurisdiction south of that. By the treaty of Paris (preliminary, November 3, 1762; definitive, February 10, 1763) France surrendered to Great Britain all of her territory east of the Mississippi River down to the Iberville, thence along the middle of that and of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea. In specific terms she retained the city and island of New Orleans, but the navigation of the Mississippi was to be equally free to the subjects of both countries, the part between the right bank and the island of New Orleans being expressly mentioned. On the same day on which the preliminary articles were signed, France, by a secret convention, ceded New Orleans and Louisiana to Spain to indemnify her for the loss of Florida and all of her possessions east of the Mississippi, which she surrendered to Great Britain. In this cession Florida was received with no mention of boundary, for such mention would have been superfluous. October 7, 1763, King George, by a royal proclamation, divided his newly acquired territory into East

and West Florida, fixing the northern boundary of the latter at the thirty-first parallel, and annexing the lands between the St. Marys and the Altamaha to Georgia. March 23, 1764, the British Board of Trade memorialized the King, praying him to move the northern boundary up to the mouth of the Yazoo River so as to include the settlements in the intervening territory. June 6, a new commission was issued to George Johnstone, Governor of West Florida, in which the bounds of that province were altered in accordance with the above mentioned petition. No change seems to have been made subsequent to this, for the commission to Peter Chester, dated March 2, 1770, describes the northern boundary as marked by a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Appalachicola.

We have already sketched the diplomatic proceedings up to the close of 1788. The new government had been in operation more than a year before another step was taken in the affair with Spain. In 1790, President Washington thought that the situation of affairs in Europe might make it possible to arrange unsettled matters at Madrid and accordingly he sent new and secret instructions to Mr. Carmichael. However, events took a different turn and the opportunity did not arise. About the close of the following year the commissioners of Spain made it known that their government was willing to renew negotiations at Madrid. Soon after this the President nominated Messrs. Carmichael and Short to be commissioners plenipotentiary to the Spanish Court. In their instructions, dated March 18, 1792, and signed by Thomas Jefferson, they were informed that the subjects of negotiations were (1) the boundary; (2) the navigation of the Mississippi; (3) commerce.

In the presentation of Spain's case her commissioners argued that all now claimed by her was comprehended in the cession to her of the Floridas. Those lands were in a state of conquest and not in the possession of either Great Britain or the United States when they were disposed of by them. The treaty of November 30, 1782, could not fix the limits of countries not in their possession, and until Spain acknowledged the independence of the United States she had a right to make conquests within their limits, as they were the subjects of her enemy. As for the navigation of the Mississippi, the treaty by which Great Britain conferred that right on the

United States was not obligatory on Spain as she was not a party to it. The law of natural right she denied, and declared that the custom which obtained with regard to rivers flowing through two countries was against it.

In his letter of instruction to the American commissioners Mr. Jefferson suggested, as a basis for argument on boundary, that the southern limits of Georgia depended on (1) the charter of Carolina, 1663; (2) the proclamation of the British King, 1763; (3) the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, 1782-3. The commissioners, however, do not seem to have noticed the first suggestion. The arguments presented by them, and later reinforced by Mr. Thomas Pinckney, who had been commissioned (November 24, 1794) as envoy extraordinary to Madrid, were substantially as follows: That Great Britain cannot be understood to have ceded to Spain more than the two Floridas as fixed by proclamation in 1763 when the boundary between them and Georgia was legally defined to be the thirty-first parallel by the only power having any claim to the territory through which it ran; that Spain cannot have been ignorant of this proclamation, nor of the terms of peace between the United States and Great Britain, when she signed her definite treaty with the latter; and that if not satisfied with said limits, she ought to have opened negotiations for a change between the signing of the preliminary and definitive treaties. That Spain cannot claim the territory by right of conquest, for she could not conquer it from the United States, a nation with which she had not been at war; and if it belonged to Great Britain, she had agreed to give up all she had conquered from that nation except the island of Minorca and the Floridas, whose boundaries were all well known as described in the proclamation of 1763.

Pursuant to instructions the arguments for the navigation of the Mississippi were based on (1) the treaty of Paris, 1763; (2) the Revolutionary treaty of 1782; (3) the law of nature and nations. By the treaty of 1763 the right to navigate the river was mutually guaranteed by Great Britain and France, who were sole proprietors, to the subjects of each. At that time the United States were a constituent part of the British Empire; indeed, they were the ones most interested in the navigation of the river. Spain had acquired Louisiana and the Mississippi subject to the conditions

imposed by original proprietors. Now France, one of the original proprietors, could not take away the right to the river without breaking the treaty of 1763 and her treaty of alliance with the United States. Neither can Great Britain take away the right because of the treaties of 1763 and of 1782-3, by which she guaranteed it to them. If, then, they did not have the right to exclude the United States from the river, they could not cede that right to Spain. Nor could she claim it by conquest from Great Britain, for conquest gives only an inchoate right which must be confirmed by treaty; nor from the United States, with whom she had not been at war. The law of nature and nations—that seas are free to all men and navigable rivers to their riparian inhabitants—is sanctioned by all civilized countries and strengthened by the morality of sovereigns. An abridgment of this right by a political society is an abridgment of natural right.

It is hardly worth our while to enter upon an academic discussion of the relative merits of the respective arguments, but there are some things in regard to the American representations which one can hardly forbear to notice. If the King could “legally fix” the boundary at the thirty-first parallel in 1763, one is curious to know why he should not “legally fix” it at the mouth of the Yazoo at a later date. This change seems to have been ignored by our commissioners, for we do not find them saying that the King could change the boundary again in the treaty of 1782-3. And, in holding to the thirty-first parallel, why did they not, instead of stopping with the King’s proclamation of 1763, base their claims upon the charters of South Carolina and Georgia? Did they even then have designs against the latter state? For when the territory was acquired it was regarded by many as belonging, not to Georgia, but to the United States, and commissioners had to be appointed to settle this dispute. The argument to support this claim was that, by surrender of their charters, South Carolina and Georgia had become royal provinces whose boundaries were subject to change at the will of the crown. Yet curiously enough, our peace commissioners, when resisting the claims of Mr. Oswald to this territory, denied the legality of a royal change in boundary such as that embodied in the commission to Governor Johnstone, which had been laid before them. But the strangest thing of all is that the King, by proclamation, could “legally fix” the southern boundary,

but could not, by that same proclamation, "legally forbid" the colonies to extend "westward of the rivers which fall into the sea." It was fortunate indeed that the same men did not have to treat with England, Spain, and Georgia, else they would have found themselves in a maze of inconsistencies.

So much for an aside. Whatever the merits of the respective claims, Spain finally yielded to all the American demands and the treaty was signed October 27, 1795. Ratifications were exchanged at Aranjuez, April 25, 1796. By the provisions of the treaty the Spanish troops were to be withdrawn within six months after its ratification, and commissioners and surveyors were to be appointed by each government to run and mark the boundary.

In September the American commissioner, Mr. Andrew Ellicott, left Philadelphia, accompanied by a number of assistants and by Lieutenant Pope with a military escort of twenty-five men. February 24, 1797, Mr. Ellicott, after suffering various prearranged delays at the hands of the Spanish commandants on the upper Mississippi, arrived at Natchez and announced to the Spanish governor that he was ready to begin the work for which he had been appointed.

But the Spaniards were not so ready for the business at hand. They were very ready, however, in the invention of means and pretexts for delay. The first of these was an effort on the part of the Spanish commissioner, Baron de Carondelet, to draw Mr. Ellicott away from the appointed place of meeting. Failing in this the Baron deputed the governor of the Natchez district, Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, commonly spoken of as Governor Gayoso, to act in his stead. This gentleman then assumed the role of dilator, beginning with a protest against the hoisting of our flag, the coming of the troops under Lieutenant Pope, and the arrest of deserters, and by telling alarming stories about the hostile disposition of the Indians. An apparent evacuation was begun about March 15, but in a few days the artillery was hurried back to the forts and remounted. March 29, Governor Gayoso issued a proclamation in which he announced his intention to keep possession of the country until an additional article, which he said was then being negotiated, should secure the inhabitants in the possession of their real property, and until assured that the Indians would be pacific. Two days later the further pretext was added that the general-in-

chief of the province found it necessary to consult His Majesty as to whether the forts were to be demolished or left standing.

Not long after this the whole Spanish commission for running the boundary arrived at Natchez, but instead of beginning work on the line, the surveyor and engineer took a boat load of entrenching tools and left for Walnut Hills (Vicksburg) where they proceeded to put the forts in a state of defense. The garrison, also, was reinforced, and Governor Gayoso announced (May 1) that it must be maintained to repel a threatened attack upon Louisiana by the British from Canada. May 31, Carondelet issued a proclamation backing up this pretext and adding another in the prospective rupture between the United States and France, and the consequent fear of an attack by the former upon Spain, the intimate ally of France. In support of this fear he cited the presence of troops on the Ohio who, he was informed, would march by Holstein toward Natchez. Meanwhile the garrisons were being strengthened. These proceedings alarmed such of the inhabitants as were friendly to the United States, and they began to form themselves into companies and to select officers. This naturally threw suspicion upon the Americans. June 13, Mr. Ellicott and Lieutenant Pope answered a communication from Governor Gayoso, categorically denying that they were in any way concerned in a plot to capture the forts; at the same time he gave notice that the landing of any more troops on the east bank of the Mississippi above the thirty-first parallel would be regarded as a violation of the treaty and an attack upon the honor and dignity of the United States. A personal interview convinced the governor that they were in earnest, and no more troops were brought in.

While these things were taking place in the far southwest, our Secretary of State, Mr. Timothy Pickering, and the Spanish minister, Don Yrujo, were exchanging notes at Philadelphia. March 2, 1797, the latter expressed his fears of an attack on the Spanish possessions by the British from Canada, and requested that measures be taken to protect the neutrality of the United States territory. Mr. Pickering said that he had no knowledge of such an intended attack, but that did not allay the fears of the Spaniard who addressed him another note on the subject. The secretary then wrote to the British minister, who denied (April 28) that such a violation of neutrality had been or would be contemplated, though

acknowledging (July 2) that propositions for an attack on the Floridas had been made to him, the particulars of which he could not give. To Mr. Pickering's inquiry (March 15) whether the posts on the Mississippi had been surrendered, Don Yrujo replied (June 24) by complaining of Mr. Ellicott's conduct and defending that of the Spanish officers. May 6, he had lodged a formal protest against the Jay treaty with England, dwelling at length on the stipulation that the Mississippi River should be open to both. July 11, in the course of a lengthy note, he said: "The assurance given you by the British minister that no attack from Canada was contemplated * * * did not inspire the servants of His Catholic Majesty with the same blind confidence which it produced in you. We know from daily experience how religiously the British nation observes the rights of neutrality." He then cited a number of such violations. The discovery of Blount's conspiracy, he declared, now justified his every suspicion. In view of the fact then that the United States had not only taken no measure to protect the neutrality of their territory, but had actually given the freedom of the Mississippi to Great Britain, the enemy of Spain, the retention of the posts was justified as a measure of defense.

In reply (August 8) to this note Mr. Pickering declared that some of the excuses for delay did not merit the title even of pretences. "It is probably the first time that, to withdraw, or retire from a place, has been imagined to intend its destruction," was his reply to Yrujo's declaration that the treaty did not make it clear whether the forts were to be demolished or not. He also quoted several treaties to sustain his position and explained how they had been carried out. However, to remove this pretext, orders were given that the destruction of the forts should be left to the discretion of the Spanish. Announcement was also made that property rights would be properly regarded. As for the violation of neutral territory, he declared that every precaution which could reasonably be expected had been taken to prevent it. Attention was called to the troops stationed in the northwest, and to the President's declaration that he could not consent that either should march troops through the territory of the United States to attack the other. As for the Blount conspiracy, it could not have had any connection with the attack apprehended from Canada.

Several notes were exchanged but nothing new of particular in-

terest was brought out. The correspondence cannot be said to have been marked by any studied diplomatic politeness; it was sharp and cutting. The candid critic who reads the letters must confess that Mr. Pickering had the better of it in the use of facts, logic, and international law, except in reference to the navigation of the Mississippi River, which was already a settled question; on the other hand, when he remembers the actual state of affairs, he must yield no little sympathy to the Spanish. At the close of the correspondence (January 20, 1798) Mr. Pickering said: "I may, doubtless, be justified in saying that their [Carondelet and Gayoso's] retention of the posts, and delays to run the boundary lines have been unauthorized by the King."

Now it is hard to think that Mr. Pickering really believed this; rather, we must ascribe it to diplomatic politeness—a politeness so very questionable, however, that the Spaniards might reasonably have taken offense at it. The secretary himself had previously (August 6) quoted a letter from General Wilkinson of June 2, to the following effect: "I have information through a confidential channel, that it was determined, as early as September last [1796], not to give up the posts on the Mississippi." Is it probable that such a determination to violate a treaty, or at least to suspend its operation and call for additional articles, would have been taken by mere subordinates on their own responsibility? In July, 1797, Governor Gayoso received notice of his appointment to be Governor-General in place of Baron de Carondelet. "In November, 1797, the appointment of Colonel Grandpré by the Court of Madrid to the government of Natchez, and its dependencies was publicly announced" at Natchez. As a usual thing, governors of territories are appointed by the nations that expect to own and control them. Nor is it customary for officials to be promoted, as were Carondelet and Gayoso, for disobedience to orders, when such orders are given in good faith. Yrujo's letters, too, sound like the productions of a man sure of his backing. He even speaks of express instructions from the King on some of the points discussed.

If then the Spanish government was responsible for the delay, what were the motives that prompted it? In a report to the President, dated three days after the last note to Don Yrujo, Mr. Pickering said: "The true reason is doubtless * * * the expectation of an immediate rupture between France, the intimate

ally of Spain, and the United States." And herein we must believe that the secretary has given a partial, but not complete, explanation of the delays. Other foreign relations also must be considered.

It will be recalled that the treaty of boundary and navigation was consummated suddenly after long and tedious negotiations. Godoy himself admitted that it was made in the hope of counteracting the influence of the Jay treaty with Great Britain. If the determination not to carry it out was reached so early as September, 1795, but little more than a month after it was proclaimed, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the relations of Great Britain to both had much to do with it. When the articles of the Spanish-American treaty were being discussed, Godoy tried to get inserted a mutual stipulation to exclude the British from the Mississippi, but this Mr. Pickering refused as contrary to existing treaties. However, the navigation clause was so worded that Spain could easily interpret it to mean British exclusion. Consequently, when another article was added (May 4, 1796) to the Jay treaty re-affirming the British rights over any subsequent treaties, it must have caused no little irritation in Spain, although the said article really did nothing more than engage that the United States should offer no objection to British navigation. As Spain was at war with Great Britain it might seem, at first thought, that the proper policy for her would have been to surrender the posts and keep the United States out of the British camp by preserving their friendship. On the other hand, if she was to be attacked from Canada, with the possibility of a popular attack from the United States, this would be surrendering in advance. A way out of the dilemma was found by playing a waiting game, at which the Spanish were past masters.

Another reason, slightly different, was given in a letter said by Stoddard to have been written by Governor Gayoso in June, 1797. It was to the effect that, as the Jay treaty had failed to consolidate the interests of the United States and Great Britain, it was not the policy of Spain to regard her stipulations. This statement does not harmonize very well with the reasons given by Godoy for making the treaty, nor has it any meaning unless it signifies that the Jay Treaty had failed of itself, and that any action Spain might take would have no effect. The truth probably is that she now

saw the commercial advantages she had hoped to gain over this treaty by her own would not be realized. In fact, this was the burden of Yrujo's letter of May 6. As it was for this that she had made the concessions on the Mississippi, how could it possibly be to her interest to stand by them now? Diplomatic relations between the United States and France had already been broken off, mainly because of the Jay treaty. With the help of France, and a plentiful use of gold in the West, Spain probably hoped to dismember the Union, which was then very much divided in British and French sentiment, and recover all, or even more than, she had yielded in her treaty. So late as the winter of 1797-8, says Martin, Spanish emissaries returned to New Orleans, after an eventful sojourn in Tennessee and Kentucky, bearing news which convinced the officials that there was no longer any hope of Spanish domination in those regions.

Whatever may have been the cause, it was about this time that preparations for the actual evacuation began. January 10, 1798, Governor Gayoso wrote to inform Mr. Ellicott that he had just received orders from Madrid to evacuate Natchez and Walnut Hills, and that it would be done as soon as possible. But this did not mean the next day. Nor did the evacuation take place until March 29, when the garrison dropped down the river under cover of darkness. Before day the last Spaniard, with his ever ready *hasta mañana*, was gone, and Americans were no longer molested as they "went down to the sea in ships."

EMMA SANSOM, AN ALABAMA HEROINE.*

By DR. THOMAS M. OWEN, Montgomery, Alabama.

The emotions of personal pleasure I have in taking part in these exercises are lost in the suggestions of noble purpose which underlies and gives them meaning. This occasion is one of rare and deep significance, and I doubt whether you—all of you at least—appreciate in the fullest sense its wide import. We are the participants in the formal office of giving and receiving, but back of this and looking beyond it is the exalted sentiment and resolution, for which your organization stands, that heroism and heroic conduct and the memory of them shall not perish from the earth. The full meaning of this lesson gained, and we have a value in life beyond heroic incidents themselves, or their preservation on canvas.

In the fall of 1861, the armies of the Federals, advancing from Tennessee, invaded North Alabama, and excepting a few months, continued its occupation until 1865. To their shame be it said, that they burned and pillaged the homes of defenseless women and children, whose shrieks could oftentimes be heard, as by the light of their burning dwellings they were turned, half clad and starving, into the snowy midnight. During these years of occupation, with their horrors of foray and raid, occurred numbers of unparalleled incidents of personal bravery. And one of these we now commemorate.

In the latter part of April, 1863, Col. A. D. Straight, with a picked command of about two thousand officers and men, left Tusculumbia for the interior of Alabama and Georgia for the purpose of destroying the railroads in that country. His objective point was Rome, Georgia. The expedition had been deliberately planned by the Federal commanders, and was considered of much importance by them. Advised of the enemy's movements Gen. Braxton Bragg

*An address delivered, May 14, 1902, before the Sixth Annual Convention of the Alabama Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, in session at Demopolis, Ala., accepting a life size, bust, oil portrait of Emma Sansom, presented by the Division to the Department of Archives and History of the State, of which Mr. Owen is director—See *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 14, 15 and 18, and June 1, 1902.

directed Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest to check their advance. This was what Colonel Streight most dreaded, because he knew that Forrest was "at the head of a determined lot of fighters, made veterans under his iron hand and absolutely devoted to his service."

It may be of more than passing interest here to take a glance at Forrest through the pages of Dr. John Allan Wyeth, whose superb biography of him is more thrilling than the pages of romance. He says that "some of the notable features in Forrest's method of warfare were: the reckless courage in attack; the almost invariable movement on the flank and rear, so demoralizing to an enemy, and especially so when made, as he usually did it, under cover, which concealed the strength of the flanking forces; the quick dismounting of his men to fight under cover of every object which afforded protection; the use of his artillery, which he often carried along with the troops in line and always placed close to the enemy; and, finally, the fierce and relentless pursuit when his antagonist yielded."

The raiding party having set out, they pushed boldly through the mountains of Lawrence, Blount and Cherokee (now Etowah) counties, with the relentless "wizard of the saddle" at their back, harrying them, and so interrupting their march that they made but slow progress. Within my limits I cannot recount the many thrilling engagements which took place, and the numberless daring deeds of pursuer and pursued.

On the morning of the 2d of May, despite Forrest's "persistent rush" at Streight's rear guard, the latter had reached Black Creek, in the present Etowah county, and had crossed that "crooked, deep and sluggish stream, with precipitous clay banks and mud bottom," on the only safe bridge in this section. The Federal commander had placed his hope of escape on the destruction of this bridge; and just as Forrest came dashing up, it was enveloped in the smoke of destruction.

The country around was exceedingly wild and rugged, and the banks of the creek too steep for passage on horseback. In this extremity General Forrest rode up to a modest little farmhouse on the highway, not far from the burning bridge, and, seeing a young girl standing upon the steps in front of the dwelling, he accosted her, and inquired if there was any ford or passage across the creek above or below the destroyed bridge, which his men could use.

This young girl was Emma Sansom, who was born in Social Circle, Georgia, in 1847, and who had been brought by her parents to Cherokee county in 1852. Her father had died in 1859. She had a brother who was a soldier in the Confederate army. She and her sister lived alone with their mother in this modest country home.

On this memorable morning in May as she stood in animated converse with General Forrest, it was a scene for a painter. The young Southern girl, her bright eyes flashing and rosy cheeks glowing; her mother, attracted by the presence of the troops, standing in the door gazing over her venerable spectacles; the great leader with eager and impatient look, his face expectant and determined, his staff drawn up around him, and his veterans near by in groups, some actually nodding in their saddles from sheer exhaustion. After a few hurried inquiries, General Forrest asked the young girl if she would not mount behind him and show him the ford. Turning to her mother she saw that the delicacy of the prudent parent was opposed. However, *she* did not hesitate, but, forming her own resolution, jumped on the roots of a fallen tree, General Forrest drew his horse near, she sprang behind him, grasping him about the waist, and off they dashed. The way was a difficult one, even for a practiced rider like General Forrest, but his guide held her seat without the slightest evidence of fear. Drawing near the ford the quick eye of General Forrest detected the Yankee sharpshooters, springing from tree to tree, and suddenly an angry minie whistled by his ear. The density of the undergrowth finally compelled them to dismount. The General hitched his horse. The girl then started out ahead, saying that the Yankees would not fire on her, and they might fire if he went first. To this he objected, declaring that he did not wish to screen himself behind her, that she was a guide, not a shield. The ford was presently discovered and they returned in safety. General Forrest then brought up his axemen, cleared out a road, and safely crossed his whole column.

On the morning of the next day, Colonel Streight surrendered, and thus ended one of the most remarkable cavalry pursuits and captures known in military annals. And herein lies the value and significance of the heroic conduct of Emma Sansom, and which makes it enduring and perpetual. "Her presence of mind and coolness, under circumstances which would have paralyzed the

faculties of most women, enabled Forrest to overcome a very formidable obstacle in his pursuit of Streight, and gained for him at least three hours in time, inestimable in value, since it enabled him to overtake and compel Streight's surrender almost within sight of Rome."*

At its session in November the General Assembly of Alabama adopted a series of joint resolutions donating her a section of land and a gold medal "in consideration of public services rendered by her." The lofty and animated preamble deliberately written at the time by grave legislators will bear recital:

"A nation's history is not complete which does not record the names and deeds of its heroines with those of its heroes, and revolutions sometimes throw the two in such close proximity that the history of the manly bearing of the one is imperfect unless coupled with the more delicate yet no less brilliant achievement of the other, and such must ever be the history of the most gallant and successful victory of the intrepid Forrest, unless embellished with the name and heroic acts of Emma Sansom.

"Upon discovering the difficulties which embarrassed the advance of our brave army in pursuit of a Yankee raid under the lead of Colonel Streight, produced by the burning of a bridge across Black Creek, near the residence of her mother, in Cherokee (now Etowah) county, Emma Sansom, inspired with love of country, indignant at Yankee insolence, and flushed with hope inspired by the arrival of a pursuing force, exalted herself 'above the fears of her nature and the timidity of her sex,' with a maiden's modesty and more than woman's courage, tendered her services as a guide, and, in the face of an enemy's fire, and amid the cannon's roar, safely conducted our gallant forces by a circuitous route to an easy and safe crossing, and left them in eager pursuit of a fleeing foe, which resulted in a complete and brilliant victory to our arms within the confines of our own State. By her courage, her patriotism, her devotion to our cause, and by the great public service she has rendered, she has secured to herself the admiration, esteem and gratitude of our people, and a place in history as the heroine of Alabama."†

*Wyeth's *Life of Forrest* (1901), p. 212.

†Acts of the General Assembly, 1863, pp. 213-214.

A certified copy of this resolution was presented to Miss Sansom by Hon. Thomas B. Cooper, of Cherokee. Hon. Burwell T. Pope, of St. Clair, responded for her. The ceremony took place at Turkeytown, in Cherokee county, in the presence of a large concourse of people. "The lands were surveyed and a portion sold for Confederate scrip, which soon lost all value, while the adverse issue of the struggle caused the loss of the medal and the other portion of the lands."† In further recognition of the debt of gratitude due her, the Legislature of Alabama, in 1899, passed an act in which she was donated six hundred and forty acres of land. In 1864 Miss Sansom married C. B. Johnson, of the Tenth Alabama Regiment, C. S. A., in 1879 they removed to Texas, and in 1887 her husband died, leaving her with five boys and two girls. On August 22, 1900, at Calloway, Texas, she passed "to where beyond these voices there is peace," leaving a name which will linger long in history.

This heroic incident has been the subject of song and story, and it is but calling your attention to facts perfectly familiar to refer to the earnest and persistent efforts of Hon. John W. A. Sanford, who has honored you with his presence during these exercises, to secure a change in the design of the Great Seal of Alabama, so that one "commemorative of the heroism of Emma Sansom" might be adopted. The details of his proposed design are "the figure of an officer on horseback, fully armed, and a young woman seated behind him with her left hand pointing forward, and the legend 'I will show you the way.'"

Dr. Wyeth has dedicated his "Life" of General Forrest to her as a woman worthy of being remembered by her countrymen as long as courage is deemed a virtue." And in the text of his immortal work he declares that "as long as the fame of Nathan Bedford Forrest shall last among men—and it must endure forever—coupled with it in artless womanhood and heroic pose will be the name of Emma Sansom."§

Now that I have passed in hurried review the dramatic incidents in the life of one woman, whom we now pedestal in hope of perpetual memory, I must not close until I give you the wider application of the lesson of her life. This portrait stands not only in per-

†Brewer's *Alabama* (1872), pp. 248-251.

§Wyeth, p. 209.

petuation of an incident of 1863, but it stands as well for the embodiment of the collective aspiration and appreciation of the women of Alabama of 1902.

It is said that woman's heroism is reserved for revolutions. Therefore, we find the epic period of our history, the four tragic years from 1861 to 1865, filled with examples of the splendid conduct and sublime heroism of the daughters of Alabama, similar to the conspicuous instance, the details of which I have recited. During the period of public and private discussion which preceded the precipitation of the conflict, she counselled resistance to the aggressions of the North. On the fateful eleventh day of January, 1861, when, amidst the most extraordinary and exciting scenes in our political history, the bonds which held Alabama in the Union were dissolved by an ordinance of a convention of the sovereign people, she was present, "the love songs of yesterday" swelling into political hosannas, in commemoration of the event. Her hands fashioned the State flag, which on the same day was flung to the breezes as the Star Spangled Banner came down. Her voice whispered courage when later the first tocsin of war sounded. In the camps of organization and instruction she was a ministering angel to the sick, and an inspiration to the faltering and despondent. Daily her prayers ascended in behalf of loved ones at the front and for the success of our brave armies. In the hospitals where the mangled and bleeding soldiers in groans and agony lay, her gentle hands tenderly bound up their gaping wounds, and brushed the death damp from the brow of the dying. With husband, or father, or son in the army, the management of the household and of the farm, with the slaves, devolved on her, and in economy of administration right well did she demonstrate her fitness for business affairs. Upon her faithful energies largely fell the burden of supplying clothing for the army, and in its manufacture she toiled with sacrificial zeal. In meeting the demands for material she subjected herself to privations and self-denial which are now incredible. The jewels were torn from her neck, rings from her fingers, and in many cases she sold the hair of her head, to aid in raising supplies for our struggling armies.

Hardly had the smoke of battle cleared away when she organized memorial associations for the care of the soldiers' graves, and inaugurated the beautiful exercises of Memorial Day. And to her zeal,

fidelity and persistent efforts is principally due the erection of our beautiful Confederate monument on Capitol Hill in Montgomery, as well as those in other towns of Alabama.

And after the terrible ordeal by combat had closed, with a change of social and domestic conditions so abrupt as to be simply appalling, the women of the State, bowing heroically to fate, readjusted their lives to the new order. Thousands of them, reared in luxury, schooled only in the arts, learning and accomplishments of the higher walks of life, bereft suddenly of all domestic help and labor, found themselves the only resource of their families for the support and maintenance of home. Did they repine? No. Did they falter or hesitate? No. With the same lofty courage with which they urged their husbands and sons to battle, and the same fortitude and resignation with which they saw them laid away in soldiers' graves, they moved forward in the course of duty. And now after the lapse of thirty-five years, how faithfully they have struggled and how well they have met all emergencies are known and read of the whole world.

Turning now from the past to a consideration of her condition and achievement in the present, a happy outlook greets us. The restrictions of an arbitrary body of laws have been practically torn away. All of the honorable avocations of business life are open to her, and no questions of propriety embarrass her selection. Many of these she has entered, and her success has only shown her eminent fitness for all. The official positions of postmaster, notary public and register in chancery are at her command. The opportunities for advanced education, which have been enlarged to her through necessary pressure, were never greater. She is admitted to our State University and the Alabama Polytechnic Institute; the special institutions for her particular instruction have increased in number and standard, and the State has provided an "Alabama Girls' Industrial School" for particular domestic and polytechnic training, as well as training in the branches of polite learning. The erroneous opinion which has hitherto obtained that woman is without skill in the deliberative assembly and does not possess the cohesiveness necessary for organized effort has been safely dispelled, and no more healthy and successful organizations exist anywhere than the women's clubs of Alabama, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Art Leagues, the Woman's Christian Temperance

Union, the Colonial Dames, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

And now ladies of the Alabama Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, to you who are doing so much through your organization in drawing into closer bonds of friendship the descendants of the soldiers in gray, in stimulating the commemoration of the heroic deeds of our Southern dead, in rendering charity to the needy survivors of our Lost Cause and their families, and in obtaining an impartial history of the struggle, that the children of our Southland may be taught to reverence the brave men of their own families, who laid down their lives in defense of the purest principles of patriotism from 1861 to 1865, in the name of the State of Alabama, in whose service I am, and to which your lives and conduct add such luster, I accept this portrait as a further evidence of your progress in thought and aspiration. The grateful appreciation of our people is yours.

Hung in the State Capitol, surrounded by the likenesses of the great ones of our past, this painting will serve as an inspiration, a memorial both to your enlightened appreciation, and to the fair fame of one who in blissful unconsciousness wrote her name high on the roll of the immortals.

AARON BURR.

By JOEL C. DuBOSE, of Birmingham, Ala.

The romances of knights of the Middle Ages are not more thrilling than the life of Aaron Burr. His eighty years spanned the French war in America, the Declaration of Independence, the American Revolution, the establishment of the United States, the War of 1812, and the Independence of Texas. The grandson of Jonathan Edwards and the son of the Reverend Aaron Burr, both of whom were presidents of the College of New Jersey, he bore in his veins the blood of noble lineage. Bereft of parents in his infancy, he spent his boyhood in the home of his uncle, the Reverend Timothy Edwards, in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. He was prepared to enter Princeton at eleven years of age, but was refused admission on account of his youth. At thirteen he entered the Sophomore class, being excluded by youth from the Junior. A year of hard work put him so far ahead of his class that he lost the incentives to study. Thereafter he neglected his lessons and devoted himself to general reading. He was graduated at sixteen years of age, spent some three years in reading and the desultory study of theology, joined the Quebec expedition of Arnold, won the confidence and approbation of men and officers, rose rapidly in rank, bore in his arms the brave General Richard Montgomery, mortally wounded, from the battle lines of Quebec, endured manfully, dared bravely, and added glory to the prestige of American arms.

The law became his profession. Mrs. Prevost, ten years his senior, and the widow of an English officer, became his wife. She brought him twelve happy years of sweetest domestic felicities, prosperity and popularity, and bore him Theodosia, the idolized daughter who sustained him in his misfortunes until the ocean claimed her as his bride.

He shied his castor before the bar of our great metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson, and achieved fame and fortune. As a legislator, he left the imprint of his legal brain upon the statutes of the Empire State. Uniting the influences of the Clintons and

Livingstons he secured election to the United States Senate over General Schuyler, the friend and father-in-law of Hamilton. His conspicuous services in the Senate and his political leadership in New York made him Vice-President of the United States.

Hamilton was his bitterest foe, and for many years, as leader of the Federalists, had directed the policies of the government. Burr had "taught the Democratic party how to succeed," and, as arbiter of the political destinies, his elevation stood between Hamilton and power. This was galling to the proud spirit of his imperious antagonist, who, in the mad delirium of disappointment and defeat, stabbed at every turn the plans and character of Burr. "On the field of honor," July 11th, 1804, these two distinguished rivals met for mortal duel. Hamilton fell.

By press and pulpit bitterly condemned, the Vice-President, Aaron Burr, awoke from the dream of the popular hero to find himself execrated and ostracised. He fled from the State and found a welcome in the South, where it was believed the funeral demonstrations and eulogies of Hamilton had created an unnatural and morbid sympathy which vented itself in the unjust condemnation of Burr.

Burr returned to Washington in due time to preside over the Senate of the ensuing Congress. He performed the duties of this high office with consummate grace and justice, and received the thanks of the Senate for his services. His farewell speech was so full of noble dignity and patriotism as to throw the Senate into tears. But he had passed the meridian of his splendor, and he left the Senate a doomed man. He defeated and imperiled the political aspirations of leading men in both parties, and the power of the government henceforth lent itself to the influences that would involve his ruin. In youth he had rejected the religion of his fathers, and the sweet restraints of piety offered no barriers to his passions. The irregularities of his life formed a background for the vilest slanders, and his enemies reveled in the exaggerated rumors of his vices.

Duelling was common among gentlemen, and Burr was soured by the sudden bursts of indignation from press and pulpit as he was charged with Hamilton's "foul and most unnatural murder." He looked upon it as a matter of course, that, if duelling were a crime, it was graced by the brightest names in the history of the

period, and he felt it a great injustice that he should be singled out for the public scorn.

To the restless Southwest Burr journeyed, lionized and feted wherever he stopped, welcomed by Clay and Jackson, endorsed by the public and encouraged by friends. He enlisted Hermann Blennerhassett, General James Wilkinson, and many other notables of that day in a mysterious scheme of adventure, which his enemies construed as involving the dismemberment of the Union, and which his friends have explained as embracing only the conquest of Texas and Mexico, and his establishment upon the throne of the conquered empire. Rumors of his military preparations and bold utterances against the United States Government reached Washington. President Jefferson ordered his arrest. At Frankfort, Ky., Henry Clay* defended him against the charge of treason and secured his release from arrest. Near Natchez he was arrested again. He made a \$10,000 bond and appeared for trial, but, failing to secure release of his bondsmen, he fled on horseback through the wilderness. Dressed in copperas colored jeans pantaloons and a drab round-about, wearing an old slouched hat, attended by a solitary guide (Chester Ashley), this Vice-President of the United States, now a fugitive from the law and shorn of all his honors, slipped from house to house of his friends, trying to reach Pensacola and take ship for Europe. Robert Williams, the governor of Mississippi Territory, offered two thousand dollars for his apprehension.

Two travellers rode into the village of Wakefield, in Washington county, Alabama, on a cold night in February, 1807. Attracted by a light in a cabin they approached it and discovered two gentlemen intently occupied in a game of back-gammon. Of these gentlemen the travellers inquired for the tavern, and then for the road to Colonel Hinson's. They were informed that a difficult path over a dangerous creek led seven miles away to Colonel Hinson's home. During this conversation the light of the fire had flashed upon Burr, revealing his wondrously brilliant eyes and his attractive face. A pair of finely shaped boots protruded from beneath his coarse pantaloons. He sat upon his splendid horse with the

*Mr. Clay at first believed Burr innocent, but after returning to the Senate and reading President Jefferson's Report and Proclamation, Mr. Clay believed Burr guilty and would never again speak to him.

grace and pride of the cavalier. He and his companion rode off into the night. One of the gentlemen, Nicholas Perkins, a lawyer, had eagerly observed him. Thomas Malone, clerk of the court, was the other gentleman questioned. As soon as the travellers rode away Perkins remarked to his friend, "That is Aaron Burr; I have read a description of him in the proclamation; I cannot be mistaken. Let us follow him to Hinson's and take measures for his arrest."

The night was very cold, and Malone refused to go with Perkins. He suggested the danger and folly of pursuing a traveller on such a night, and that, too, without any proof that he was the man wanted. Perkins was not deterred. He rushed to the home of Sheriff Brightwell, and the two were soon in their saddles in pursuit of the travellers. About midnight, just as the moon was rising, Burr and his guide reached Colonel Hinson's and hallooed. Mrs. Hinson peeped through the window, and, observing they were strangers, went back to bed. Colonel Hinson was not at home. The travellers dismounted and went into the kitchen, where a bright fire was still burning. Ashley accompanied a negro to attend the horses. Burr took a seat before the fire.

Perkins and Brightwell now rode up and hallooed. Brightwell was a relative of Mrs. Hinson. She recognized his voice, arose from bed and hastily prepared supper. As Perkins had been seen at Wakefield, he would not enter the house, but waited in the surrounding woods for Brightwell to make discoveries and report.

At supper Burr was very entertaining to Mrs. Hinson, thanking her courteously for her kindness. He watched the sheriff closely. Finishing his supper, he arose from the table, bowed to the madam, and retired to the fire in the kitchen. By suggestion of Brightwell, Mrs. Hinson asked Ashley, the guide, still sitting at the table, "Have I not, sir, the honor of entertaining Colonel Burr, the gentleman who has just walked out?"

Ashley did not answer. He was evidently much embarrassed and immediately reported the question to Burr.

Brightwell did not return to Perkins. Burr's magnetism had disarmed him. Perkins shivered in the cold until his patience was exhausted. Rightly guessing that Brightwell had fallen a prey to the captivating powers of Burr, he rode off to the house of Joseph Bates, procured a negro and a skiff, rowed down to Fort

Stoddert, aroused Captain Edmund P. Gaines, the commandant, and made known his suspicions. Captain Gaines at once prepared to pursue. With Perkins and a file of mounted soldiers he rode off toward Colonel Hinson's. He met Burr and his companion, with Brightwell, at the Wolf Pen* on the road to Pensacola. Accosting the distinguished stranger, Captain Gaines said: "I presume, sir, that I have the honor of addressing Colonel Burr."

"I am a traveller in the country," replied the stranger, "and do not recognize your right to ask such a question."

Captain Gaines responded, "I arrest you at the instance of the Federal Government."

"By what authority," retorted the stranger; "do you arrest a traveller upon the highway, on his own private business?"

"I am an officer of the army," said Captain Gaines; "I hold in my hands the proclamation of the President and the Governor, directing your arrest."

"You are a young man," said the stranger, "and may not be aware of the responsibilities which result from arresting travellers."

Captain Gaines responded, "I am aware of the responsibilities, but know my duty."

Burr now eloquently denounced the proclamation as originating in the malevolence of his enemies, and founded in unjust charges against his innocence. He could neither frighten nor dissuade Captain Gaines, who firmly addressed him as follows, "My mind is made up; you must accompany me to Fort Stoddert, where you shall be treated with all the respect due the ex-Vice-President of the United States, so long as you make no attempt to escape from me."

Burr looked sternly at the young officer for a moment, and then, with a wave of his hand, yielded to his fate, wheeled his horse into line and rode with Captain Gaines back to Fort Stoddert. Brightwell and his companion rode away in the opposite direction.

At Fort Stoddert Burr was treated with marked courtesy. His suavity of manner, his ready address, his noble dignity won him all hearts. He was free, and yet reserved. Without apparent restraint he conversed cheerfully, but never alluded to his arrest nor to his past nor future plans, and, of course, his captors were too

†A Methodist church now stands near the spot. For full account of this arrest, see Pickett's *Alabama*, pp. 483-502.

considerate to obtrude. Colonel George S. Gaines, the Choctaw factor, was sick in a room adjoining Burr's on the first night of his imprisonment. He groaned. Burr entered his room, felt his pulse, suggested remedies, and daily visited his patient, asking many questions about the Indians and the surrounding country, receiving and giving much valuable information. He was presented to Mrs. E. P. Gaines, who was the daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin, and he frequently joined her in the game of chess.

In about two weeks Captain Gaines completed arrangements to forward his distinguished prisoner. He sent him by boat up to the settlement on the Tensas river, where he was committed to the guards that were to be his silent attendants for the next three weeks.

The ladies were always Burr's friends, and wept over his misfortunes. Nicholas Perkins commanded the deputed guard, which was composed of Thomas Malone, Henry B. Slade, John Mills, John Henry, two brothers named McCormack and two federal soldiers. Perkins dreaded so much the magnetic powers of Burr, that he bound by oaths every man of the guard not to be influenced by him, and to assure this control he forbade conversation with him.

Burr mounted the same steed that bore him on the day of his arrest, bade an audible adieu to the sorrowful witnesses of his humiliation, and surrounded by his guard, started off on his long journey to his trial at Richmond. This route was along paths and Indian trails. The order of travel put Burr in the middle, with guards, heavily armed, in his front and rear. His few wants were promptly supplied.

Here was the genius of victory to the party in power, led to the scene of his triumphs to bear the scoffs of enemies and the scorn of those whom he had raised to power.

Who can tell the agonies that wrung his proud heart—the "nurse of such mighty dreams"—as he surrendered hope and beheld the wrecks of his ambition?

The nation justly condemned his lack of moral principle, but we must admire the noble fortitude with which he bore his troubles.

On the march he displayed the qualities of the soldier and the gentleman. He endured, without a murmur, the fatigues of travel,

the discomfort of his nightly pallet, and the inclemency of the weather.

At Fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, the company stopped at the hotel of Mr. Nevin. This was the first time on their journey that they slept under a roof. Mr. Nevin was elated, but he mortified the guard by pertinent questions about Aaron Burr, expressing the wish to meet the "rascal," as he called him. Burr sternly addressed him, "I am Aaron Burr; now what do you want?"

The astonished Nevin was humbled immediately, and for the rest of their stay the company had the best of attention from the silenced host.

Theodosia had married Colonel Joseph Allston, a very wealthy and popular South Carolinian, who afterward was Governor of the State. Upon reaching South Carolina, Perkins directed his course so as to avoid the large cities, fearing an effort to release Colonel Burr. He met with no accident until passing a hotel in Chester. Music and dancing were within; a few gentlemen were standing without the hotel. Burr leaped from his horse and shouted, "I am Aaron Burr, under military arrest, and I claim the protection of the civil authorities."

Perkins bounded with drawn pistols to his side and ordered him to remount. "I will not," shouted Burr defiantly. Perkins dropped his pistols, grabbed Burr around the waist and threw him back into the saddle. A guide led on his horse. Burr wept—the first and only sign of weakness.

The next day he was placed in a gig with Thomas Malone and driven to Richmond. Here he was tried and acquitted. Here his beloved Theodosia visited him, and the ladies and gentlemen of the city extended him the most delicate courtesies. For years afterward he wandered in the countries of Europe, alternately caressed and scorned; but, broken in spirit and beggared in purse, he beat his way back to his native land, and began again the practice of law in the city of New York. Business came to him with fair promises of success; but his dear little "Gampa" had died, the grandchild in whom he expected his virtues and his fame to survive. Then the ship that started to New York, bearing the sorrowing Theodosia to her father, went down in a storm. His marriage with Madame Jumel was uncongenial and soon dissolved.

A few friends, faithful to the last, paid fitting tributes to his

closing years, and when he died, laid him to rest by the side of his fathers, in the cemetery at Princeton.

Two years afterward, on a calm, still night, a beautiful marble shaft, simple yet not inexpensive, was mysteriously placed over his grave. It bore the inscription:

AARON BURR

Born Feb. 6th, 1756

Died Sept. 14th, 1836

Colonel in the Army of the Revolution.

Vice-President of the United States from 1801 to 1805.

Any one wishing to investigate fully the history of Burr, will find much matter in this list of the more important works relating to him, for which the editor is largely indebted to Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, chief bibliographer in the Library of Congress.

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CUMBERLAND ISLAND, GEORGIA.

By DR. WILLIAM BERRIEN BURROUGHS, of Brunswick, Ga.

This is the most beautiful and charming island on the South Atlantic coast. Its climate is the counterpart of the Island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples. Like Ischia, its salt laden, balmy breezes cure rheumatism and bronchitis, and bring relief to very many other diseases. Its flora is of the largest variety, commingling the beautiful blossoms of the North and those of the tropics with flowers peculiar to this island and its neighborhood, carpeting the earth in variegated hues of remarkable brilliancy and beautiful effect. Its fruits are unrivalled in profusion, variety and richness of flavor; lemons, figs, pomegranates and melons grow in greatest abundance. The groves of olive and orange trees were the finest in the South until the frost of 1835 destroyed them. Three thousand oranges have been gathered from one tree.*

Long before the Empire State of the South secured this island as a part of her domain the Chief Justices of South Carolina, as the Governors were called at that time, received many applications for *grants* on this island from noblemen in England, to raise cotton, olives, wine and silk. There was a peculiar grass which grew in the old Indian field which the English called silk grass, which the Indians used on account of its great strength. The Bank of England imported this grass, and it is said that all their bank bills were made from it until the Revolutionary War. The timber to build the famous United States warship *Constituton* was cut on this island. On this warship history tells us that more midshipmen and lieutenants have been drilled than on any other ship in the United States Navy. When General Oglethorpe visited this island and its surroundings, he described the men as being "tall and manly, well shaped and very kind. Theft is a thing unknown; murder they look on as an abominable crime, and if a man is too intimate with the wife of another, the husband cuts off his ears. The women are very small. They, as the ancient Grecians did, anoint with oil and expose themselves to the sun, which gives them

* White's *Statistics of Georgia*, p. 139.

the brown color; the men wear a girdle with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs, and the women a petticoat to their knees. They both wear mantles in winter as the Romans wore their toga, they are men of genius and have a natural eloquence; the men provide the meat and the women till the soil and make a bread from the Indian corn and boil it into hominy. They live on the best in the land; deer, wild turkey and what the English call buffalo, but this is not the proper name because this animal is described by Cæsar as the *urus* or *zorax*. The hawks and eagles grow to an enormous size. I saw an eagle a few years ago as large as a turkey. The Indians' garden contained peaches, pease, nectarines, locust, potatoes and melons. They found plenty of honey made by the bees, in the hollow trees, which they used as we do sugar. Wood ashes supplied the place of salt and bay leaves supplied the place of spice. Those that take care of themselves live to long old age, one having recently died at the age of one hundred and thirty years."

Early in November, 1738, General Oglethorpe took up his temporary quarters at Fort St. Andrews, Cumberland Island, to superintend the construction of the military defenses. This island was garrisoned by companies which had been detailed from Gibraltar. One of the men became very insolent to the General. Captain McKay, who was in command of the fort, drew his sword, but the soldier took it away, broke it in half and threw the hilt at the officer's head, got his gun from the barracks, crying loud "One and all," and fired at the General. The ball whizzed by his ear, and the powder scorched his face and singed his clothes. Another soldier presented his piece, and fortunately it missed. A third drew his hanger and tried to stab the General who unsheathed his sword and parried the thrust. An officer coming up ran his sword through the ruffian's body. The mutineers ran away, were caught, and after a trial by a court-martial, the ring leaders were found guilty and shot.

On Cumberland Island was buried "Light Horse" Harry Lee, the famous soldier of the Revolution. It was but right and proper that this illustrious Virginian, who risked life to defend Georgia's honor and land should claim a hallowed spot on Georgia's sacred soil. Harry Lee was born January 29, 1756; graduated at Princeton. Two and one-half years afterward we find him captain of a cavalry

company. In 1779 he captured a British fort, Paulus Hook (Jersey City) for which Congress voted him a gold medal and promoted him. He served with General Washington and General N. Greene in the Southern army, where he received his military renown. He was in 1786 elected to Congress and was governor of Virginia till 1791. He was selected by Congress in 1799 to pronounce the funeral oration on the death of General Washington. During the Revolutionary War he was ordered to Georgia, and on his way captured Fort Galphin with valuable military stores. On his juncture with Pickens, they captured Fort Cornwallis at Augusta and forced that cruel brute, Colonel Brown, to surrender. Brown was the miserable wretch who captured this fort the year before after a bloody resistance by the Americans. Captain Ashby and twelve wounded prisoners he had hanged on the steps of Georgia's State House, while seven other prisoners he delivered to the Indians, who threw them in the fire and roasted them to death.

General "Light Horse" Harry Lee, broken in health from the effects of the war, visited Cuba to regain his strength, but returned to the United States in 1818 and stopped at Dungeness, where he visited the wife of his late commander—General Greene. This estimable lady and her family did all in their power to keep the lamp of his life burning, and although the oil was expended they still blew the gentle breath of love and affection, to preserve the wick alive; but human power availed but little. He ascended on March 25, 1818.

The Savannah *Republican*, March, 1818, gives an account of his military funeral. Commodore Henley superintended the last sad duties. Captains Elton, Finch, Madison, Lieutenants Fitzhugh and Richie, of the navy, and Mr. Lyman, of the army, were the pallbearers. As the procession moved, the swords of the two first crossed the old man's breast. They were in their scabbards, for his heart beat no more, and seemed to say "rest in peace." Other officers of the navy and Captain Payne, of the army, followed the procession.

On the 11th of January, 1815, the British effected a landing on Cumberland Island in two divisions, with nineteen barges, assisted by two look-out boats, and flanked by two gun barges. At first they showed a disposition toward the bay, but ascertaining that the Americans were prepared to receive them, they changed their course, and took the Plum Orchard passage, keeping Cumberland

close ahead. The first division effected its landing at Dungeness; the second at Plum Orchard. On the morning of the 13th of January, 1815, the enemy with fifteen hundred men moved against Pointe Petre. Captain A. A. Messias received information of the approach, and was aware of his intention to place himself in his rear, with considerable force, while he was advancing in front, to attack the battery on the St. Mary's. With a view to cut off Messias' retreat, he ordered Captain Stallings to remain at the Pointe with about thirty-six effectives, with orders to defend it as long as possible, and if he should be overpowered, to spike the guns, fire the train at the magazine, and retreat to him with the remainder, about sixty riflemen and infantry.

Messias' detachment moved against the enemy in the rear, determined to oppose his passage at a narrow defile at Major King's at which they came about nine o'clock. This defile was flanked by a marsh on each side, and had a complete cover for riflemen on the right and left, across which, the day before, Messias had caused some large trees to be felled. It was the intention of Messias to gain the cross-roads near Major King's; but finding himself stopped, Lieutenant Hall, of the Forty-third Infantry, was ordered, with a detachment of riflemen, to advance on the enemy's left, and Lieutenant Hardee, with another detachment, to pass the thicket and endeavor to gain his rear, which order was promptly obeyed. Captain Tatnall of the 43d infantry, was at the same time to endeavor to advance in close column and pass the defile. At this time the enemy's bugle sounded, and a brisk fire commenced on both sides. The Americans had already passed some distance, and the enemy had given way twice, when Captain Tatnall received a severe wound, which caused him to fall back, and the numbers of the enemy appearing too imposing, a thousand to sixty, a retreat was ordered, which was effected in good order without the loss of a man. In this battle, Captain Tatnall, Sergeant Benson and Private Greene, are mentioned as having acted bravely. All did their duty. When Oglethorpe first landed at the island it was by the Indians, called "Missoc," the Indian name for "Sassafras." By the Spanish the island was called "San Pedro." On the 18th of March, 1736, Toonahowi, the nephew of Tomochichi, and prince of this island, while assisting in building Fort St. Andrews, called in honor of the patron saint, pulled from his pocket his gold watch,

which was given him by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland when he visited England with General Oglethorpe, saying, "He gave me this watch that we might know how time went, and we will remember him while time goes; and this place must have his name that others may be reminded of him."

Within a short distance of the ruins of the old fort stands the elegant mansion of Mrs. Lucy Carnegie, who owns three-fourths of the island. She has the most elegant and costly home and grounds in Georgia, and is a lady of most estimable character, whose deeds of charity appear to have no bounds.

THE ORIGINAL POCAHONTAS.

By THOMAS C. MCCORVEY, A. M., Professor of History in University of Alabama.

The romantic story told by Captain John Smith how Pocahontas had saved his life, when Powhatan wished to put him to death, is now very generally regarded as an after-thought of that bold and able explorer, whose "chief faults," says a recent writer, "were his vanity and boastfulness, which led him to exaggerate his adventures." It is hard to relegate to the realms of the mythical so dramatic an incident, hallowed by more than two centuries of unquestioned belief, but the cold decree of historical criticism has gone forth, and the story is fast disappearing from our school manuals as well as from the standard works on American history. *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Justin Winsor, (Vol. III, p. 161) says: "Mr. Deane first pointed out (1860) in a note to his edition of Wingfield's *Discourse*, that the story of Pocahontas saving Smith's life from the infuriated Powhatan, which Smith interpolates in his *General Historie*, was at variance with Smith's earlier recitals in the tracts of which that book was composed when they had been issued contemporaneous with the events of which he was treating some years earlier, and that the inference was that Smith's natural propensity for embellishment, as well as the desire to feed the interest which had been incited in Pocahontas when she visited England, was the real source of the story." Both sides of the question sprung by Mr. Deane have had able champions, and the literature of the controversy is quite extensive. Mr. Bancroft permitted the original story to stand for a while with only a reference to Mr. Deane's note (*Hist. U. S.*, 1864, Vol. I, p. 132); but he dropped it out of his Century Edition without expressing a judgment. While there may be some historical scholars who are still inclined to give credence to the story as told by Captain Smith, the general verdict is against its acceptance. It is not the purpose of this paper to reopen a virtually settled question, which has lost its interest for the public;

but to suggest what was, in all probability, the real origin of the Pocahontas story.

At the time when the losses and mismanagement of the Virginia Colony were jeopardizing its success, Richard Hakluyt, one of the chief patentees under the charter granted by King James, published his translation of the *Portuguese Narrative* of De Soto's Expedition with the avowed intention of encouraging the colonists and procuring in England an increase of support for the colony. The work first appeared in 1609 under the title: *Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, Her Next Neighbor, etc.* This translation, published as it was for the encouragement of the Virginia colony, was read, in all probability, by Captain Smith, and the incident which it narrates of the rescue of John Ortiz by the daughter of the Indian chief Ucita, doubtless suggested to the imagination of the Virginia explorer the story in which he, Powhatan and Pocahontas figure.

Soon after the landing of De Soto in Florida, a reconnoitering party under John Rodriguez Lobillo very unexpectedly came upon Ortiz, the story of whose adventures and rescue is best told in the following quaint extract from Hakluyt's translation: "Two leagues from the towne, coming into the plaine field, he [John Rodriguez Lobillo] espied ten or eleven Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked, and scorched with the sunne, and had his arms razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And as soone as the horsemen saw them, they ran toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselves in a wood, and they overtooke two or three of them which were wounded; and the Christian, seeing an horseman runne upon him with his lance, began to cry out: Sirs, I am a Christian, slay me not, nor these Indians for they have saved my life. And straightway he called them, and put them out of feare, and they came forth of the wood unto them. The horsemen tooke both the Christian and the Indians up behind them; and toward night came into the campe with much joy; which thing being knowne by the Governour [De Soto] and them that remained in the campe, they were received with the like. This Christian's name was John Ortiz, and he was borne in Sivil, in worshipful parentage. He was twelve yeares in the hands of the Indians. He came into this

countrie with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and returned in the ships to the Island of Cuba, where the wife of the Governour, Pamphilo de Narvaez, was; and by his commandment with twenty or thirty others, in a brigandine, returned backe againe to Florida; and coming to the port in the sight of the towne, on the shore they saw a cane sticking in the ground, and riven at the top, and a letter in it; and they believed that the Governour had left it there to give advertisement of himselfe, when they resolved to go into the land; and they demanded it of foure or five Indians, which walked along the sea shore; and they bad them by signes to come on shore for it, which, against the will of the rest John Ortiz and another did. And as soone as they were on land, from the houses of the towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee; and the other, which sought to defend himselfe, they presentlie killed upon the place, and took John Ortiz alive, and carried him to Ucita their lord. And those of the brigandine sought not the land, but put themselves to sea, and returned to the island of Cuba. Ucita commanded to bind John Ortiz hand and foote upon foure stakes aloft upon a raft, and to make a fire under him that there he might bee burned. *But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a captive. And Ucita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds."*

The narrative continues with the thrilling adventures of Ortiz among the Indians. After his rescue by Lobillo's scouts he became an interpreter for De Soto. However, it is only the story which he told of his rescue by the daughter of Ucita that has a special interest here, due to its manifest connection with the much discussed adventure of Captain Smith. In all essential respects the two stories are the same.

When we remember that Hukluyt's translation was made for the avowed purpose of encouraging the Virginia colony, in which Smith was the most conspicuous figure; that this translation was, in all probability, read by the Virginia explorer between the publication of his *True Relation* in 1608 and that of his *General Historie* in 1624; that before the publication of the latter work, which first contained the story, Pocahontas "had become as famous as the

'Lady Rebecca' by her services to the colony; by her marriage with an Englishman, Rolfe; by her visit to England, presentation at court, and her baptism into the Christian Church; and by her death on the eve of her return to her own country"—when we remember this chain of circumstantial evidence, we are forced to the conclusion that the daughter of Ucita was the original Indian "princess" who interposed to save the life of a white captive from the vengeance of an enraged father.

EARLY MISSIONS OF THE SOUTH.

(FLORIDA, ALABAMA, LOUISIANA.)

By ANNE BOZEMAN LYON, of Mobile.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana, that one-time magnificent appanage of the French crown, has been shorn of its countless arpens, until now its shrunken proportions must arouse even the ghostly anger of its arrogant master, Louis *Quatorze*. Although it is a dwindled shadow of its former magnitude, there lived and died for it men of the grandest purpose and courage.

The first French priest who looked upon the Mississippi River was Marquette. He, with Joliet, saw it on the 7th of July, 1673. A suffocating day it was, so hot that the yellow water drew fiery lines of light down into its depths. The sky was glowing blue as the blaze of burning wine; the leaves of the trees rustled dryly as though they swirled, brown and dead, in autumn days; the trumpet vines, climbing the great trunks of trees like twisted serpents, were brilliant with blossoms that were the incarnate flame of the summer heat. Above, everywhere, floated the peculiar mist of the Mississippi valley, that palpable exhalation of the swamp so poisonous to human life.

Amid such sickeningly beautiful days the priest and merchant went down the low-flowing river, which parted to cast up, as a living thing, wide sand-bars that glittered in the dark expanse as celestial shores shine in the visions of dying men. At last, satisfied with the land through which they drifted, Joliet and Marquette returned to Quebec as surely discoverers of the Mississippi as De Soto; and possibly more purposefully, since lasting benefits accrued to Louis through them.

There was another lapse of years until Robert de la Salle, with de Tonti, a company of soldiers and three monks, came from Canada to the Mississippi in 1682. Then followed the greatest event in the history of New France, the sailing of Bienville and Iberville into the Mississippi in 1699. Père Anastase Douay accompanied them. Merely this is recorded of the priest and nothing more, save that he was also with la Salle in 1682.

The ecclesiastical history of southern Louisiana had its actual beginning at Fort Biloxi in May, 1699. Père Bordenave was chaplain, and Sauvolle, an eminently capable judge of all exemplary virtues, held him in highest honor. Iberville, compelled to return to France, left the chaplain with his young brother, over whom was already falling the shadow of the terrible disease that so speedily terminated his life. Père Bordenave disappeared after Iberville came with Père du Ru from the mother country. The latter consecrated a small burying-ground at Fort Mississippi, above the mouth of the Mississippi, shortly after his arrival in America. Returning to Biloxi he ministered to the Indians about the colony till he finally settled at Fort Louis de la Louisiane.

Père de Linoges, of the Society of Jesus, ordered to establish a mission among the Oumas, bravely set out on his lonely voyage down the Mississippi with no company but his aspirations for the well-being of the people to whom he went. In that limitless solitude, emphasized by the rushing of the river and roar of the wind, no fear assailed him; he would fall asleep in his canoe as calmly as though he were in a monastery cell. But one night the frail fastening of the cockle shell in which he lay, snapped against the pressure of the current. His life was imperiled, yet he escaped. Wet and worn, but tightly grasping his chalice, he reached a settlement of Arkansas Indians. Stirred with pity for his forlorn condition, they succored his distress. He remained with them a brief while, then went to the Oumas. So susceptible were they to holy influences that they readily heeded the priest's teachings. His example and piety were productive of such good that he was obliged to erect a chapel for his converts; a plain, rude building it was, but into it crowded not only Oumas, but Bayagoulas as well, to listen to the story of the Savior's dwelling among men.

Now began in earnest the struggle of the Jesuits in Louisiana. Wishing to obtain control of religious affairs in the French colonies, they besought Bishop St. Vallier to appoint the Superior of the Missions Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. The demand was apparent between the courteous lines of the request, for they also complained to the French King that other orders were gaining ascendancy in their jurisdiction. The Bishop, who was as tenacious of his right as the Jesuits, held a consultation with ecclesiastical dignitaries, among them the Bishop of Chartres.

With much judgment the hierarchy advised Bishop St. Vallier not to vest any order with absolute power to govern Louisiana, as they thought "it better to assign districts to religious or collegiate bodies of secular priests, all to be subject to a Vicar-General named from time to time by the Bishop of Quebec."

His majesty, Louis, not fully satisfied with the verdict regarding the Jesuits, carried the momentous question to the Archbishop of Auch. He also refused to give an individual opinion, and sought aid from the Bishops of Marseilles and Chartres. Even the confessor of the King was admitted to the august council. But to the Jesuits the situation was not lacking in cause for self-gratulation. This delay was to them the tacit admission of the dominance of the Company of Jesus, whose inflexibility had never relaxed since St. Ignatius Loyola emerged from his soul-cleansing novitiate in the dreary cave of Manresa. Afterwards he communicated his purpose to his companions at the University of Paris "to renounce the world, * * * to live in it that they might overcome its evil, while remaining interiorly separate from it." To the disciples of the man who so imbued His Holiness, Paul III., with such confidence that he instantly accepted his proffered services when disintegration threatened the Church, these verbose conferences were merely the babble of children. For they knew—those silent, invincible Jesuits—that their dawn of triumph would as inevitably rise in Louisiana as it had risen throughout the world, and therefore they patiently submitted to the decision of the Archbishop of Auch and his coadjutors when they declared that to the Seminary of Quebec belonged the Tamarois Mission. Bishop St. Vallier, with an evidently latent desire to placate the indomitable followers of Loyola, re-appointed their Illinois Superior as Vicar-General in that part of the northwest.

From the first they should have known that the Bishop would shape events, in a measure, to suit himself. Of a noble French family, several of whom had been elevated to Episcopal honors, he was sternly unyielding in his will, and brooked no encroachment upon his prerogative. The stupendous labors that were imposed upon him by his great diocese demanded that he should be firm and at times almost harsh, for he had many vexations and perplexities. Nevertheless, he left the impression of his mind upon the people of his own time and the Catholic Church in Amer-

ica. Naturally from such a man, though not of their Order, the Jesuits looked for sympathy with their views, as his character was moulded on the same lines of severity and asceticism as Loyola's, which ought to have formed a bond of union between them.

Bishop St. Vallier in his pastoral of 1719 addresses the Jesuits, whom he calls, in the opening sentence, "His beloved children in Jesus Christ." He especially commends to their guidance those impious persons, who, leading scandalous lives and guilty of various vices, he fears "will draw down the maledictions of God" upon the men in charge of their souls. A quaintly worded, direct document it is that terminates the authority of the Bishop in matters pertaining to his diocese in the Mississippi Valley; but it reveals plainly the strong, pure heart of the man, and also indicates that he justly valued the tie of spiritual kinship between himself and the Jesuits.

In Louisiana, in 1717, affairs clerical and financial were so disastrous that on August 13th of the year the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, decided, after the relinquishment of Crozat's charter, upon the transfer of Louisiana to a Company. It was at the Council of State at Versailles that the Regent resolved upon this course. The Charter of the West and Indies was registered on the 6th of September. Acquired for a quarter of a century, it gave to the corporation the monopoly of Louisiana trade. Their own interest and emolument secured, the Company, in its fifty-third clause, declares "that the glory of God" was earnestly desired; the building of churches, conversion of Indians and all holy things were to be promoted, but all priests were to be under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec. The Company, on May 16, 1722, divided Louisiana into "three ecclesiastical sections." North of the Ohio was assigned to the Jesuits, by permission of the Bishop it has been alleged. The Capuchin, Père Louis Duplessis de Mornay of Meudon, had been made coadjutor of Bishop St. Vallier on April 22, 1714. Louisiana was given to him by St. Vallier, who also made him Vicar-General. Although Bishop de Mornay was never in America, he naturally sought to strengthen his Order in his new diocese; consequently whenever requests were made to him for priests to convert the natives he gave preference to the Capuchins.

New Orleans had ceased to be a vision of Bienville's and was

an actuality shadowing its future greatness. True, in 1722, when Père Charlevoix reached the place, it was nothing more than a few huts; and the chapel, which was never used, was a miserable building. A church was constructed of rough logs so poorly put together that it was blown down by a terrible wind. Devastating the coast, the storm shattered many houses of the new establishment. Wretched and insignificant as it was, the first church in New Orleans was named for the great Loyola, St. Ignatius, but was consecrated by Père Anthony, a Capuchin. Two or three years after its destruction a brick church was built; still there is no account of the saint to whom it was dedicated, nor of any priests who celebrated mass.

That long-past request which the Jesuits had made of Bishop St. Vallier received, in 1722, a qualified answer. It gave hope to the unwearying Order whose members gratefully accepted the command to baptize and convert the Indians in the French colonies in Louisiana. The Bishop sanctioned the authority accorded the Jesuits, yet there is no authentic account at Quebec of any active part that he took in the bestowal of it. However, most cordial relations appear to have existed at that time between himself and the Company of Jesus; for they had power to go at will throughout Louisiana and found missions at their own discretion. Vast as their district was among the Indians, they were not allowed to either preach or teach in New Orleans, where they had their dwelling.

The missions in Louisiana were at that time "six hundred Catholic families in New Orleans * * * six at Balize, two hundred at Les Allemands, one hundred at Pointe Coupee, six at Natchez, and fifty at Natchitoches, besides, three other missions, which are not named; these comprised the whole," inclusive of those at Mobile and the Apalache village.

Matters were not going well with Bienville. Treacherous Indians and Frenchmen of position were inimical to him. The latter constantly sent letters to France containing unjust charges against him who for years had but one thought—Louisiana's development. The culminating point was reached when he received a dispatch from the home government demanding his presence in France. Once before he had been summoned to the French King to refute the accusations of his enemies. But before he sailed he

issued his "famous Black Code," whose first and third articles seem out of place there, bearing as they do upon the permanent expulsion of the Jews from Louisiana and the precedence of the Catholic religion over any other.

Bienville, with superb dignity, placed that now renowned defense of himself before Louis. It must have aroused strong emotions in his majesty, granting that profligate had a heart, when he beheld the man who for twenty-seven years had toiled amid hardship, discouragement and danger that France might keep this glorious jewel in her crown. To read this exculpation of the gracious gentleman, is to know and feel that his traducers were basest calumniators, for it holds so much of manliness and truth, and loyalty to his sovereign. Bitter as his foes were, his friends loved him with an intensity begotten of his own high qualities and magnetism. Yet, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made to affect the king's opinion, Bienville was divested of his almost monarchical authority, and Perier was made Governor of Louisiana.

During this period nothing of interest transpired in the Church history of Louisiana until Père Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois reached there. The originator of the mission of the Society of Jesus in Louisiana he was a native of Orleans in France, and was, in 1719, parish priest of the church at Kaskaskia when Major Boisbriant was at that post.

The Company of the West, in accordance with its fifty-third clause, announced its intention to provide funds for the support of six nuns and four servants. With customary thrift the Company also sapiently apportioned the work of the Ursulines before they had even left their French convent. To two nuns were relegated the nursing of sick persons; one of the good women was to be a supernumerary should one or both of the nurses be indisposed; the fourth was to supervise the housekeeping and culinary departments of the projected hospital; then an instructor was appointed for the charity school. A certain generosity was evidenced by the Company as it bestowed upon each nun before leaving Rouen five hundred livres.

Mother Mary Tranchepain, of St. Augustine, accompanied by her devoted nuns, and Fathers Tartarin and Doutreleau, set out in the *Gironde* for Louisiana. A long and disagreeable time it was—that voyage across the ocean—but it was as bravely borne

as the journey of Francoise de Bermont of Avignon, when she went from city to city in Southern France and erected Ursuline houses at Aix, Marseilles and Lyons. The place of Mother Tranchepain's landing in Louisiana is not told, although it is surmised that it must have been Biloxi, as "she made her way to New Orleans in boats."

Père Beaubois met the nuns and went with them to the house selected for their abode until their own was done. Bienville's hotel was where they went. It was described by a nun "as the finest house in the town. It is a two-story building with an attic * * * with six doors in the first story. In all the stories there are large windows, but no glass. The frames are closed with very thin linen, admitting as much light as would glass."*

The Company of the West had already given to the hospital eight acres of ground, fronting on the Mississippi to the depth of forty acres. Each nun was to be paid eight livres annually until the convent land supported them entirely, or in five years they would be given eight negroes on the same terms as those on which they occupied until they went to a handsome house erected for the Ursulines on Condé street, between Barrack and Hospital streets. In 1730 they took possession of their new home, which they occupied until they went to a handsome house three miles below the city on the river.

On a July day—the 17th of the month—1734, a procession issued from the convent, an imposing spectacle as it marched through the narrow streets. There were twenty maidens, attired in loose white garments to typify angelic hosts; one represented the British princess, St. Ursula, and eleven the eleven thousand virgins who, with the saint, were martyred by the Huns. Père de Beaubois, Père Petit and the Caupuchin, Père Philippe, bore the Sacrament under a magnificent canopy. The Ursulines, their choir mantles wrapped about them, and down-drawn veils, followed with lighted tapers that burned in yellow points of light in the brilliant noon. The most interesting figure there was that of *Monsieur le Gourerneur*, who had returned to his beloved people. Older, graver and not so debonair as when he witnessed the baptism of the little Apalache convert at Fort Louis, he walked in the midst of his officers,

*Rev. Mother Austin Carroll, of the Convent of Mercy, Mobile, discovered and translated Sister Mary Hoher's letters during a visit to the Ursulines while she was stationed in New Orleans.

a splendid personality still in spite of those eight lost years in France. The blare of martial music was about him. His heart kept tune with it; for had not his colonists proven that they could not prosper without him? Solemn chants rose above the blatant sound of trumpets, and with them ascended a prayer of great thankfulness from the commander's soul.

Père Petit preached a most edifying sermon on the importance of Christian education; then, after benediction, the procession wound its way back to the convent from whose belfry a jubilant welcome pealed.

The first Jesuit who entered the Louisiana Missions was Père Michael Baudouin, a Canadian. There followed him in 1726 Père Mathurin le Petit, Paul du Poisson, Jean Souel, Alexis de Guyenne and Jean Dumas. Père Tartarin and Père Doutreleau arrived on the 7th of August, 1727. Père Dumas was sent to Illinois; Père de Poisson to the Arkansas, who had received no special teaching since Nicholas Foucault's death; Père de Guyenne was missionary to the Alibamons, and Père le Petit was ordered to the Choctaws. Père Pouel went with the Yazooks at Fort St. Claude, formerly the charge of the Abbe Juif; he had been a chaplain in the French army.

The Capuchins in 1728 had a wide area, comprising every post in Southern Louisiana. Père Raphael was Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec and parish priest of New Orleans; Père Hyacinth was vicar, Père Cecilius taught the children; Père Gasper was priest at Balize; Victorin, a Recollect and Père Mathias were at the Apalache village and Mobile; Père Maximin was at Natchitoches, and Père Philippe was at Les Allemands; while Père Philbert, whom Père le Petit highly esteemed, was at Natchez.

The office of Superior of the Jesuits had been taken from Père de Beaubois for some unjust reason most trying to Mother Tranchepain whose confessor he was, and Père le Petit, who was with the Choctaws, was made Superior in his stead. At that time Père du Poisson and Père Souel were still with the Arkansas and Yazooks. Fathers Tartarin and Le Boulanger were at Kaskaskia; Père Guymonneau was with the Metclogameas; Père Doutreleau was upon the Ouabache river, and Père Baudouin was endeavoring to found a permanent mission among the Chickasaws.

In 1729 the missions in Louisiana were almost destroyed by the

Natchez Indians. Chopart, the commandant at Fort Rosalie, had so aroused the wrath of the Sun-Worshippers that they rebelled against the French, and murdered them with insatiable cruelty. Père du Poisson, who happened to stop at the Fort on the 26th of November for a few days' stay, in the absence of the Capuchin curé, was slain by a tomahawk. An officer hurried to the priest's rescue, but to no avail, and he was himself killed. Père Souel was also treacherously murdered by the Indians of his own missions, the Yazooos, who had been incited to rebellion by the Natchez. Père Doutreleau, after many terrible adventures, was on his way to the Yazooos at Fort St. Claude, where he had been ordered after Père Souel's death. But he finally reached New Orleans in a sad plight.

Then immediately followed the war of the Natchez and French, during which the missionaries were forced to abandon their stations. After the defeat of the natives, Père de Guyenne and Père de Carrette assumed Père du Poisson's place with the Arkansas. Circumstances were not conducive to the promulgation of religion, as the licentiousness of the French officers counteracted Père Carrette's efforts to convert the Indians. Like so many other priests similarly environed, he relinquished his mission.

Bishop St. Vallier died in 1729, and Bishop de Mornay succeeded to the See of Quebec. Although he did not resign until five years later, he achieved nothing of importance in Louisiana.

The Capuchins continued in favor, but so unobtrusive were they that no special act is recorded of them, except that Père Jean Francois was missionary for a longer period than any other priest of his Order. He consecrated the Church of St. Francis at Pointe Coupee, that place where, years after, Julian Poydras lived. In the little cemetery the rich planter was buried in a coffin, so diminutive that one would never think it held the remains of a man. It rested for a short time, during the overflow of 1890, in the chancel of St. Francis' Church, while awaiting removal to Poydras College. Painted blue, it evidently inclosed a leaden casket, as one so proud would not have been interred in a common wooden box. The waters of the Mississippi, eddying into the bank, washed the earth so that not only Monsieur Poydras, but other aristocrats had to be taken to a grave yard where they would not be dragged from their lowly bed by the resistless current. Notwithstanding this

care many a coffined *gentilhomme*, shrouded in silk, with jewels on his breast and fleshless fingers, was exhumed by the flood and set adrift on the river.

The Jesuits, now finding their plantation a great source of interest and pleasure, cultivated many exotic plants, and successfully brought oranges and sugar-cane to perfection in Louisiana. The Company of the West had made liberal provision for the Fathers; beside paying their passage from France, it had freely bestowed upon each of them one hundred and fifty livres. For the first two years they were in Louisiana they were paid eight hundred livres annually, though later their salary was curtailed to six hundred. While they were permitted no parochial functions, they had charge of the Ursulines, and Père de Beaubois continued in New Orleans with Père Vitry and others as assistants. Yet the Capuchin Vicar-General, Père Raphael, did permit Père de Beaubois to give Extreme Unction to Mother Tranchepain.

During the eighteen years Père Baudouin was with the Choc-taws he had for assistant Père LeFevre. Père Guillaume Francois Morand took the cure of the Alibamons in 1735. He remained among them for several years, but afterwards was ordered to New Orleans, as successor to the Ursulines' director, Père Doutreleau. Père Le Roy, bitter in his denunciation of the license of the French officers' permitting his Alibamons the use of whisky or rum, was banished from his mission at Fort Toulouse by the Commandant Mouverant.

The senseless war against the Jesuits, begun in Paris in 1761 at the *Parlement*, was urged on by the provincial *Parlements* which sought to crush them through France. There, where their success as educators had been unequalled by any other Order, a cabal was formed for their overthrow; there where their inspired preachers Bourdaloue and Père de la Colombière, the director of Ste. Marguerite Alacoque lived, they were hated and maligned; there where the famous Voltaire, formerly their pupil, poisoned the souls of men with his scepticism, they were derided as purists; and paramount to all, that creature of mirth and evil, Madame de Pompadour, despised them because they denounced her influence over Louis XV. So, since *Madame la Marquise* hated them, their downfall was swift. By command of the Paris *Parlement* of April and August 1762, the Jesuit colleges were closed, and their Order pro-

hibited. The Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, did manfully espouse their cause, but Louis's decree was immutable, and in November, 1764, four thousand Jesuits were banished from France.

Although so light a thing—all glitter and froth—the Pompadour's hatred was as strong as death, and, like it, reached everywhere; therefore the Superior Council of Louisiana, impregnated with the wrath that was actuating Louis, decided upon the expulsion of the Jesuits. Insults and base charges were heaped upon Loyola's disciples, who bore them with undaunted fortitude and patience. The malignant persecution of Xogun, the son of the Chinese emperor, Diafusama, was not more causeless than this of the Superior Council, only now there was no bloodshed. Yet the implacable enmity against these men was in all countries the same—men whose one desire had always been to purify and elevate religion.

Their chapels were closed in New Orleans, and their vestments and plate bestowed upon their rival Order, the Capuchins. Divested of all property save their books and clothing, they were driven forth and reviled as the lowest of earth. In Illinois, where the Superior Council had no authority, a warrant was issued to Louis's officers to seize the plate and priestly robes. The Council even ordered that all chapels of the Jesuits be ruthlessly destroyed, although they were the only houses of worship for Indians and French.

Possibly ashamed of its own mandate the Council now alleged its own reason for it, which was that the Jesuits had been negligent of their missions; that they had too industriously cultivated the ground given them by the Company of the West, and lastly—most heinous offense—that they had usurped the office of Vicar-General.

Had Bienville been there it would have been different, and it would never have been done, this terrible thing; but he had left his people forever, twenty years before, and there was no one to protect those downtrodden priests. Besides it was so subtle, the charge of usurpation, revealing the meanness of the Council as nothing else could have done. No littleness could have been more contemptible than this long-nurtured plan of vengeance against the Jesuits. It clearly evidenced the cowardice of the members

of the Council and the fear that had impelled them to sanction Monsignor de Pontbrian's appointment of Père Baubois as Vicar-General. And now that the power was in their hands to strike a helpless old man, under cover of obedience to their king, they fell upon their enemies and glutted their rankling hatred. Not only did they batter the walls of Jesuit chapels in New Orleans—those law-givers of Louisiana—but they desecrated the vaults of the dead, and left the bodies to the mutilation of birds of prey and prowling animals.

Scarcely any other crime perpetrated by Christians equals this, except the murder of Hypatia by Cyril's monks. Separated by hundreds of years as the two outrages are, they were begotten of the same demoniac spirit. One was instigated four centuries after Christ by one of his high-priests, a sojourner among the fanatics of Nitria; the other was prompted by a king of the most advanced nation of the eighteenth century.

Père Carette was banished to St. Domingo; Père LeRoy, after a long and circuitous journey, reached Mexico. But the most inhuman act, crowning these atrocities, was the indignity shown Père Baudouin. Old and shattered in health, he was hunted through the streets he had traversed as representative of His Holiness. Not one of the people whose souls he had comforted came to his aid till rough sailors were dragging him in the burning sun to a ship about to sail to Europe. Then friendly hands rescued him, and he was taken to the house of Monsieur Boré. Rich, tender and generous, this gentleman cared for the aged priest until he died.

After the eviction of the Jesuits, New Orleans and all Louisiana suffered for religious direction, as the Capuchins could not perform the duties necessitated by the care of Illinois and the southern city. The population was now four thousand. Nine priests found it impossible to properly attend to this "immense district." Gradually they lost courage, though hope was still strong in their hearts, and they saw a future as pregnant of good as the past had been. But life had gone out of the missions as long ago it had gone from Bienville, whose love was always with the people he had seen forsaken by their king.

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WILLIAM LEROY BROUN, A.M., LL.D.

William LeRoy Broun, A.M., LL.D., whose death occurred at Auburn, Alabama, on January 23rd, 1902, was a native Virginian, a gentleman of profound scholarship and far-sighted wisdom, and was for half a century connected with the most prominent educational institutions of the South. He was a Master of Arts graduate of the University of Virginia in the class of 1850, and began teaching in 1852, in Oakland College, near Port Gibson, Mississippi. He was for two years in charge of the department of mathematics in the University of Georgia, and then he organized Bloomfield Academy, a classical school, near the University of Virginia, from which he entered the Confederate service as a lieutenant in an artillery company from Albemarle county, rising to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the ordnance department of the Confederate army. He was in command of the Confederate arsenal in Richmond when the closing pressure of Federal troops compelled the evacuation of that city, and the arsenal was blown up by his orders. After the war he was the professor of mathematics in the University of Georgia, and later was the president of the Georgia Agricultural and Mechanical College. In 1875 he was elected to the chair of mathematics in the Vanderbilt University, and in 1881 was elected to the chair of mathematics in the University of Texas, in Austin. While in this latter position his wife died. He then continued educational work in Alabama, being elected to the presidency of the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, an institution whose name was changed to Alabama Polytechnic Institute by his suggestion to the State legislature. Of this institution he was the president for nearly twenty years. He lifted it to marked success, enlarging its courses of study, introducing departments of biology, electrical engineering and other subjects not before emphasized in Southern colleges. He made the Institute recognized as one of the leading scientific schools in America. He lived to be seventy-four years old, impressed himself upon the age in which he lived, and died beloved and honored. President Charles C. Thach, his successor in the presidency of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute in a speech at the

memorial services in honor of Dr. Broun, said of him: "His was the greatest intellect that I have ever known; absolutely accurate, full of refinement and delicacy, appreciative of the finest shades of culture, yet vigorous, robust, constructive, bold to plan and work out new lines, and capable of carrying those plans to the most successful issue."

His wide acquaintanceship and family connections give interest in the Broun Genealogy which appears below, by the courtesy of his brother, Thomas L. Broun, Esq.

THE BROUN FAMILY AND THEIR KINDRED.

By THOMAS L. BROUN, of Charleston, W. Va.

William Broun and Robert Broun were brothers, and from Scotland. One settled in Northern Neck, Virginia, and the other near Georgetown, South Carolina, in colonial days.

William Broun was a lawyer, resided in Lancaster county, Va., and practiced his profession in Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmoreland and other counties.

Robert Broun was a physician, and resided near Georgetown, in South Carolina, and there practiced his profession.

The parents of William Broun and Robert Broun were George and Margaret Broun, of North Britain (Scotland).

William Broun and Janetta McAdam (my grandparents) were married in Northumberland county, Va., October 20, 1771.

The parents of Janetta Broun were Dr. Joseph McAdam, of Northumberland county, Va., and his wife, who was Sarah Ann Gaskins.

The parents of Sarah Ann Gaskins were Thomas Gaskins of the fourth generation, and his wife, who was Mary Conway.

The parents of Mary Conway were Edwin Conway, of the third generation, and his wife, who was Ann Ball.

The parents of Ann Ball were Colonel Joseph Ball, of "Epping Forest," Lancaster county, Va., and his wife, Elizabeth Romney, of London.

Sarah Ann McAdam, the wife of Dr. Joseph McAdam and mother of Janetta Broun (my grandmother) was a granddaughter of Edwin Conway, of the third generation, and was also a granddaughter of Colonel Joseph Ball, of "Epping Forest," who was the grandfather of General George Washington.

Colonel William Ball, the father of Joseph Ball, was born in London in 1615; married Hannah Atherold, July 2, 1634, and died at Mellenback, in Lancaster county, Va., in 1680.

Colonel Joseph Ball, son of Colonel William Ball, was born May 24, 1649; died at "Epping Forest," Lancaster county, Va., in June, 1711. He was married twice. (1) Elizabeth Romney, daughter of William Romney, of London; (2) Mary Johnson, widow of ——— Johnson, of Lancaster cunty, Va.

Issue by first marriage:

- (a) Hannah Ball, who married Raleigh Travers.
- (b) Elizabeth Ball, who married Rev. John Carnegie.
- (c) Esther Ball, who married Raleigh Chinn.
- (d) Ann Ball, who married Colonel Edwin Conway in 1704.
- (e) Joseph Ball, who married Frances Ravencroft. He resided in London and was a prominent and successful barrister at the English bar.

Issue by second marriage:

Mary Ball (mother of Washington), born 1707; married Augustine Washington March 6, 1730; died August 25, 1789, aged eighty-two years.

The children of my grandparents, William and Janetta Broun, were as follows:

- (1) George McAdam Broun, born 8th Jaunary, 1773.
- (2) Ann Lee Broun, born 8th November, 1775.
- (3) Thomas Broun, born 11th June, 1777.
- (4) Harriet Broun, born 4th October, 1779.
- (5) Edwin Conway Broun, born 9th March, 1781.

George McAdam Broun, Ann Lee Broun (who married ——— Stowers), and Harriet Broun, died without issue.

Thomas Broun, son of William and Janetta Broun, of Lancaster county, Va., married October 29, 1807, Elizabeth G. Lee, daughter of Charles and Sarah Lee, of "Cobbs Hall," in Northumberland county, Va., and had issue as follows:

- (1) William Waters Broun, born 27th August, 1808.
- (2) Sarah Elizabeth and Jane Ann Broun (twins), born 20th September, 1810. In February, 1812, Jane Ann died at "Cobbs Hall" and was buried in the family burying ground.
- (3) Charles Lee Broun, born March 1st, 1813.
- (4) Jane Ann Broun, born 25th November, 1814.

(5) Thomas Kennerly Broun, born 26th January, 1817, and died October 6, 1820.

(6) Edwin Broun, born September 30, 1819.

(7) Judith Lee Broun, born July 6th, 1823.

Edwin Conway Broun, my father, was born March 9, 1781, in Lancaster county, Va. He was the son of William Broun, of Scotland, and Janetta McAdam, his wife, of Lancaster county, Va. His first wife was Maria Hale, widow of John Hale, and daughter of Colonel Crane, of Northern Neck, Va., and was born March 3, 1787. They were married December 3, 1807.

Issue of Edwin Conway Broun and his first wife, Maria Broun:

(1) George McAdam Broun, born 7th September, 1808.

(2) James Wilson Broun was born 23d June, 1810.

(3) Harriet Ann Broun was born 2d October, 1812.

(4) Edwin Conway Broun was born 28th August, 1818.

Maria Broun, the first wife of Edwin Conway Broun, died 28th August, 1818.

Edwin Conway Broun and Elizabeth Channel, only daughter of Dr. James Channel (tradition says of Philadelphia), and Susan, his wife, who was the widow of Perry Brady and daughter of William S. Pickett, of Fauquier county, Va., were married in Middleburg, Loudoun county, on 10th August, 1819, at the residence of Dr. Richard Cochran, where, at this date, Mrs. Fanny Dudley Woodward and husband reside. Dr. Channel practiced his profession in Middleburg and the surrounding country.

Elizabeth Channel, my mother, was born 10th February, 1802, and died 15th January, 1838.

Issue of Edwin Conway Broun and his second wife, Elizabeth Broun:

(1) Maria Broun was born 11th October, 1820.

(2) James Channel Broun was born 15th May, 1822.

(3) Thomas Lee Broun was born 26th December, 1823.

(4) Susan Jane Broun was born 12th October, 1825.

(5) William LeRoy Broun was born 1st of October, 1827.

(6) James Conway Broun was born 1st April, 1829.

(7) Ann Eliza Broun was born 15th November, 1830.

(8) Sarah Broun was born 17th June, 1832.

(9) Elizabeth Ellen Broun was born 18th April, 1834.

(10) Joseph McAdam Broun was born 23d December, 1835.

(11) A child was born and died a few days later prior to the death of my mother, which occurred on the 15th January, 1838.

My father died 10th of August, 1839.

My grandmother, Susan Channel, died in August, 1838. Her maiden name was Susan Pickett, daughter of William S. Pickett, of Fauquier county, Va. (See his will dated January 10, 1789, and recorded in clerk's office of Fauquier county, Va.) She was buried by the grave of her husband, Dr. Channel, in the northeast part of the old cemetery lot in Middleburg.

At the time of my father's death, to-wit: August 10, 1839, he had twelve living children to-wit:

(1) Dr. George McAdam Broun, of Fauquier county, Va.

(2) Harriet Ann Bailey, wife of Stephen Garland Bailey, of Westmoreland county, Va.

(3) Edwin Conway Broun, Jr., of Middleburg, Va.

(4) Maria Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(5) Thomas Lee Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(6) Susan Jane Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(7) William LeRoy Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(8) James Conway Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(9) Ann Eliza Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(10) Sarah Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(11) Elizabeth Ellen Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

(12) Joseph McAdam Broun, of Middleburg, Va.

James William Broun, son of Edwin C. and Maria Broun, died 27th June, 1810.

James Channel Broun, son of Edwin C. and Elizabeth Broun, died 17th of May, 1828.

At this date (above data from my father's Bible), January 11, 1904, the children of my father, Edwin Conway Broun, living are:

Thomas L. Broun, of Charleston W. Va.

Mrs. Susan J. Stevens (widow of Joseph M. Stevens), of Asheville, N. C.

Joseph McAdam Broun, (lawyer), of Madison, Boone county, W. Va.

The family Bible of Joseph McAdam, the grandfather of my grandmother, Janetta Broun, is now in my possession. It was printed in London in 1698, by Charles Bill and the executrix of

Thomas Newcomb, deceased printers to the King and Most Excellent Majesty.

In this Bible is found the following record, made by Joseph McAdam, of his marriage with Janet Muir, and of the respective births, names and ages of their seven sons, in 1769, as follows, to-wit:

"Joseph McAdam and Janet Muir were married in the year 1712 by the Rev'd Mr. Charles Coates, minister of Govan, in his own house the 30th day of July.

"My first son, James, was born April 21st, 1713.

"My second son, John, was born March 18, 1715.

"My third son, James, was born October 8, 1717.

"My fourth son, Joseph, was born May 28, 1719.

"My fifth son, Hugh, was born July 5, 1720.

"My sixth son, Charles, was born November 8, 1722.

"My seventh son, Robert, was born September 18, 1723.

"The sons of Joseph and Janet McAdam:

"Their ages at the present year, 1769:

"James	56
"John	54
"James	52
"Joseph	50
"Hugh	49
"Charles	47
"Robert	45."

On the back of the same paper are written these words, to-wit: "Children of my grandfather McAdam"—evidently written by Janet Broun, my grandmother and wife of William Broun, of North Britain.

My grandfather, William Broun, in said Bible, made record of his marriage with Janet McAdam and of the respective births and names of their five children herein before mentioned.

My uncle, Thomas Broun, in said Bible, made record of his marriage with Elizabeth G. Lee, daughter of Charles Lee, of "Cobb's Hall," and of the respective births and names of their eight children hereinbefore mentioned.

Edwin Conway, of the first generation, came to Virginia, from Worcestershire, England, about 1640. He settled in Northampton

county, Va., and was the third clerk of that county. He was married twice.

(1) In England, to Martha Eltonhead, daughter of Richard Eltonhead, of Lancashire, England.

(2) In Virginia, in 1649, to a sister-in-law of Colonel John Carter, of Carotoman.

He was born about 1610, and died in Lancaster county, Va., in 1675.

Edwin Conway, of the second generation, resided in Lancaster county, Va. He was born about 1640, and died in 1698. He was married twice: (1) To Sarah, daughter of Colonel John Walker, of Gloucester county, Va.; (2) To Elizabeth Thompson.

Issue by marriage to Sarah Walker:

(a) Edwin Conway.

(b) Mary Conway, born September 6, 1686, died 15th September, 1730. She married, first, John Dangerfield, November 11, 1703; second, Major James Ball, April 16, 1707.

Issue by marriage to Elizabeth Thompson:

Francis Conway, born 1697; married in 1720 to Rebecca Catlett.

Edwin Conway, of the second generation, made a deed, May 10, 1695, conveying lands and other valuable property to his two children, Edwin and Mary, recorded in Lancaster county clerk's office, July 12, 1695.*

Eleanor Rose Conway, daughter of Francis Conway and Rebecca Catlett, was born January 9, 1731, and married Colonel James Madison, Sr., September 13, 1749, and died February 11, 1829.†

James Madison, President of the United States, was the son of Colonel James Madison, Sr., and his wife, Eleanor Rose Conway.

Colonel Edwin Conway, of the third generation, was born in Lancaster county, Va., in 1681, and died October 3, 1763, in his eighty-second year. He was a man of wealth and very prominent and influential in church and colonial matters for a long period. He was a member of the House of Burgesses from 1710 to 1742, a period of thirty-two years, excepting the year 1720. He was an active member of the Church of England, and vestryman

*See Hayden's *Genealogies*, p. 232. †*Id.* pp. 244, 255.

of Christ Church, Lancaster county, Va., from 1739 to 1743, and of Christ Church and St. Mary's after the union until his death in 1763. He is described as "a gentleman of very great parts."*

General Washington's grandmother was a widow three times, to-wit:

- (1) Mary Johnson, widow of ——— Johnson.
- (2) Mary Ball, widow of Joseph Ball.
- (3) Mary Hughes, widow of Richard Hughes.

Francis Conway, the half brother of Edwin Conway, of the third generation, was the grandfather of President Madison.

Edwin Conway, of the third generation, was eighty years old when he made his will, 27th of July, 1762. He bequeathed most of his property to his grandson, Edwin Conway, of the fifth generation, whom he made sole executor of his estate.† He also made a deed of gift of three negro slaves to his graddaughter, Sarah Ann McAdam (nee Gaskins), the wife of Dr. Joseph McAdam, on the 16th of January, 1761, which deed was recorded in Lancaster county February 20, 1761.

Colonel Edwin Conway, of the fifth generation, and William Broun, of Scotland (my grandfather), married sisters, who were daughters of Dr. Joseph McAdam and Sarah Ann, his wife. That is, Colonel Edwin Conway, of the fifth generation, married Sarah Conway McAdam, and William Broun married Janetta McAdam.

Thomas Gaskins, of the fourth generation, married Mary Conway, daughter of Colonel Edwin Conway, and had issue: Sarah Ann Gaskins and other children.

Sarah Ann Gaskins married twice:

- (1) John Pinkard, about 1741.
- (2) Dr. Joseph McAdam.

Issue by first marriage: Thomas Pinkard, named "greatgrandson" in the will of Colonel Edwin Conway, dated 27th of July, 1762.

Thomas Pinkard married Ann Gaskins, daughter of Colonel Thomas Gaskins. She subsequently married Richard Henry Lee.

Thomas Gaskins, of the fifth generation, married Sarah Eustace, daughter of William Eustace and Ann Lee, widow of William

*Hayden's *Genealogies*, p. 238. †*Id.* p. 238.

Armistead. Ann Gaskins, sister of Sarah Ann Gaskins, who was the mother of my grandmother, Janetta McAdam, married Captain William Eustace, son of Captain William Eustace, and Ann Lee, daughter of Hancock Lee.

Thomas Gaskins, of the sixth generation, married Hannah Hull, and had, among other children, Sarah Eustace Gaskins, who married George Thomas McAdam, son of Dr. Joseph McAdam and Sarah Ann Gaskins, and brother of my grandmother, Janetta McAdam.

Martha Eltonhead, wife of Edwin Conway, of the first generation, was sister of the wives of various prominent settlers in Maryland, and Virginia, to-wit: Jane, wife of Cuthbert Fenwick, of Maryland; Agatha, wife of Ralph Wormeley, of York county, Va.; Eleanor, wife of Captain William Brocas; Alice, wife of Henry Corbin, of Middlesex county, Va.*

Ancestors of the Broun kindred who held the office of Councillor and Burgess:

(1) Lieutenant-Colonel John Walker, Burgess for Warwick county, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1649; member of council, 1657-8.

(2) William Ball, Burgess for Lancaster county, 1668, 1672, 1674, 1677.

(3) Captain John Pinkard, Burgess in 1688.

(4) Joseph Ball, Burgess 1695, 1698, 1702, for Lancaster county.

(5) Colonel Edwin Conway, of the third generation, Burgess 1710-1745.

*See Hayden's *Genealogies*, pp. 22, 230.

See William and Mary *Historical Magazine* for 1902, 1903 and 1904. Also Dr. Lyon G. Tyler's report of my Northern Neck Kindred. *Lee of Virginia*, Burke's *Peerage*, 1899, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1900, and *Broun-Ramsey, Marquis of Dalhousie*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 6, page 776—Werner Edition of 1903.

DOCUMENTS.

By ULRICH BONNEIL PHILLIPS, Ph. D., of the University of Wisconsin.

LAND COMPANIES IN TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY, 17—.

The following documents, from the Draper *Collection of Manuscripts* of the Wisconsin Historical Society, illustrate several phases of the process of securing and occupying lands in the West by companies and individuals.

In securing tenure of any piece of land, there was need to extinguish the aboriginal claim and also to obtain a grant or writ from the civilized government having sovereignty over it. As a rule the governmental grant came first and the Indian cession afterward—as in Raleigh's patent and the charters of the Virginia Company, the Georgia proprietors and the Georgia trustees, and also in the patents of the Ohio Company, the Greenbriar Company and the Yazoo Companies. On the other hand, the Rhode Island settlement, the Henderson purchase in Kentucky, and the purchase of Blount and Martin in Northern Alabama, with which the fifth document of this series treats, are all instances where the Indian title was extinguished before the governmental patent was obtained. In a multitude of instances, of course, either or both of these formalities were dispensed with in the occupation of the back country until after the actual settlement had been made. But, as a rule, mere squatter claims were discouraged and efforts made to systematize the process. The systems followed were strikingly at variance in the different regions and periods. Leaving aside the New England townships, there were head-rights throughout the colonies, sprinkled here and there with special grants of large areas to favored persons or companies. Later, the system of head-rights and irregular private surveys was replaced by governmental survey into squares and the distribution of these squares or lots among the people. The Federal government for a time distributed its lots by sale at auction with deferred payments. Finding that that system promoted speculation and brought financial distress,

it dispensed, first, with the credit feature and then with the auction system; and finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, in the distribution of the Oklahoma lands, it has resorted to a lottery system similar to that adopted by the State of Georgia beginning in 1803.

The keynote of the land policy in the South was the demand for liberality.

VIRGINIA GREAT LAND GRANTS, 1753.

Draper Mss. Q.Q.-1-75.

Memorial of James Patton to the Government and Council of Virginia, January, 1753?

“Honourables

In 1743 I Pettitioned the then Govern. of Virginia for 200,000 acres of Land on three branches of the Mississippia & the Waters thereof on which I proposed to settle one Family for each 1000 acres and to Pay his Majesties Rights & and all Fees accruing on the same on returning the Plans to the secretary's office, after some time spent their Honrs. told me that nevertheless of their inclination to encourage such an undertaking they could not at that time Grant my Pettition not knowing how the Governat. at Home would approve of this Granting Land on those Waters least it might occasion a Dispute betwixt them and the French, who claim a right to the Land on those Waters, and as the distance was so great from any part of the Atlantick Ocean, they could not conceive that any Benefit could arise to his Majesty's Revenues or to the strength of this Colony by an handfull of Poor People that might venture to settle there. But if a War broke out betwixt England and France, they would then Grant my Pettition. I then set forth the Practicableness of my Scheme (with their concurrence) showing the great Distance it was from any of the French Governments what a usefull Barrier it might be there in time between the French, French Indian & Virginia and of what use it might be to the Latter by Commerce and how it would increase His Majesties Revenues by other undertakers who Doubtless would follow my example should I succeed in it. And as I was the first

Brittish Subject that had Pettitioned for land on the sd. waters which I discovered at Vast Expence & that I fear'd the noise of my Pettn. would spread abroad & other Pettrs. might come in before me & reap the benefit of my industry therefore begged their Honrs. to insert it in their Council book that I might have the Preference for the above Quantity of Land before any others who might come after me which they Promised to do & that they would give me notice when they could grant my Pettn. also all encouragement lay in their power as I was the first Pettr.—To which Promise as to my being preffered to any other Pettr. for 200,000 acres of Land, I refer to the Council Book, the then Council and Clerk being since removed by God in his Providence to Eternity.

In April 1745 I had notice to attend the Council who gave me & others a Grant for 100,000 acres also to John Robinson then President and others 100,000 & to another company 50,000 at which time I was told by my Friend in the Governmt. that as soon as I complied with my Promise in settling of that I could not miss of the other 100,000, as it was on record. which I have since complied with by Paying his Majesties Rights and settling above 100 families on sd. Land; as also returning the plans to the secretaries Office before Prefixed. What makes me give your Honours the Trouble of this long Introduction is, that since the above compliance Mr. Mercer in behalf of himself & the Ohio Company who has an order of Council for 500,000 Acres & Mr. James Powers in behalf of himself & his Company for 800,000 acres has entered caveats that no Patent may Issue out to me & others in the former Order for any land surveyd on ye afforsd. Waters. for what reason I am ignorant of having to the best of my Judgement complied with everything I undertook. the noise of which caveats has made my first settlers very uneasy not knowing what may be their Fate lest they should have their own Improvements to pay for, nevertheless they had bought their Land from those new Caveateers.

“As to those two Gentlemen who in the course of their Practice may have been Fee'd to Perplex a good cause & plead with great assiduity to the justice of a bad one had they got a double fee they could not have fallen on a more effectual method to Discourage the settling of these Frontiers than they have done by the above Caveat, and as they intend me so much trouble especially the Latter I cannot do less in Justice to myself

than to beg of your Honours to give me an order of Council for the foresd. 100,000 acres and that no renewal be given for the 800,000 acres on ye waters of Woods River Holstons River untill that I have mine surveyed which am willing to do in a moderate time. As to the Ohio Company who I understand intends to survey their Lands to the norward of the Waters of Woods Rivers, if so, it cannot interfere with mine.

"Nevertheless if the company for 800,000 acres will go on Friendly and settle Bounds with me, I should be willing that they would survey and settle the country so that I may not be prevented from my claim, Perhaps they may have fallen into a mistaken notion that they cannot get their Quantity of Good land when I am served but if they will pay me for it I think I can shew them a much larger quantity than they want

"For the Honorable John Blair

"The Honble. John Blair

"Esqr. his—

"Letter"

[This memorial and the accompanying letter are unsigned. They appear to be the rough drafts preserved by Patton, after the revised and signed had been sent to Williamsburg.]

JAMES PATTON TO JOHN BLAIR, January, 1753.

[From the unsigned, rough draft written on the same sheet with the above memorial.]

"Honoured Sr.

"I have been on the Waters of the Mississippia & the head of Roanoke and James Rivers From Last General Court where I Design to spend the most of my time till the latter end of May next. The noise of Mr. Powers Caveat has reached the ears of the People here who is very uneasy not knowing but they may have as many Proprietors as many of them had who lived in the Jerseys, where when the(y) had Paid six Proprietors were obliged to pay a seventh and turned off in poverty at last.

"I mentioned to your Honour when in Town that as I thought I had a just claim for 100,000 acres of Land on Woods River & Hol-

ston River that I was willing when an order (of) Council cou'd be obtained for it that four fifths of it should be for the Governor, You & Mr Corbin & Friends. Least you should be disappointed of the Lands on ye Waters of Susquehanah, but here there can be no Disappointment provided the order of Council can be obtained one fifth of which I only reserve for myself & Friends. I Purpose to be in Town against the Court of Oyer in June to answer Mr. Powers Caveat, should that Company insist for a Renewal before that time (I) beg your Honour to Deliver the Inclosed Letter as Directed.

"I have had some trouble with the Cherrokee Indians but has got all Difference Compromised between them and our white People which I hope will continue. I have sent an express to the Governor Partly to comply with my promise to the Emperor (of the Cherokees) but Principally Expecting that his answer will quiet the Minds of our People who was much allarmed at the report of Erwin Patterson who sd. he had an order to Dispossess, Tye & send down a Man upon the complaint of an Indian without giving the Man an opportunity to vindicate himself."

The Loyal and Green Bryar Land Cos.. Memorial for Settlement in Western Virginia. 1783 Doc.

Draper Mss. XX vol. 4, no 52. Thos Walker to Danl Smith,
"Castle Hill, May ye 9th 1783

Sir

The Court of Appeals have confirmed all the surveys made for the Loyal and Green Bryar Companys, probably some of the settlers may be uneasie from an expectation of the agents distressing them,—for myself I promise not to distress any man, that has acted and continues to act in my opinion fairly, and does make payment in a reasonable time—Colo Lewis agent for the Green Bryar Company has agreed to do the same—I shall be obliged to you for making this determination known to the settlers, the composition money and patent fees must be paid in six months, the composition money is six shillings and eight pence for every fifty acres, or any smaller quantity, and if there is fifty-six acres, thirteen shillings and four pence, and so in proportion for any quantity. The patent fee is ten shillings and seven pence half penny for

four hundred acres or any quantity under, if more—one shilling and three pence for every hundred over.

"As it will be inconvenient for me to attend on the western waters, or the people to come to me I should be glad you would undertake the business, and hope for your answer as soon as convenient.

"I send two copies for fear of miscarriage and am

"Dr. Sr. Your Humble Servant,

THOMAS WALKER.

"(Addressed) Col. Daniel Smith,

"Washington.

"(Endorsed) Received July 22d 1783

D. S.

KENTUCKY SETTLEMENT, CUMBERLAND RIVER, 1791.

Draper Mss. XX v. 5, no 24, John Sappington to
Major William Croghan.

Red River Sept 20th 1791

Dr. Sr.

I with pleasure embrace this opportunity by Coln James Ford to inform you that I am well at present and have enjoyed a good state of health since I left the Falls of Ohio—

I also have the Pleasure to introduce to you Coln James Ford, a person anxious to make a purchase near the mouth of Cumberland River. there are a Number of Families that would wish to[buy]any land adjacent to the Town Moses Shelby requests me to inform you he would give Cash for five or six hundred Acres of Land near the Town five or six miles distant he would wish to know by this opportunity what you would take per hundred for Land in that Distance from the Town—Also several others wish to know what you would take for Land near the Mouth of Little River or Ramsey's Camp, particularly a Mr. Desha, he would wish to purchase two or three thousand acres he can make you good pay in Beef Cattle as he has a large Stock of Cattle he is a very punctual man—I have not the least Doubt provided you would engage Land at a certain fixed price your Town would be established at the Mouth of Cumberland immediately I have drew up an article for the settling of sd. Town & find that if you would give an

out Lott of about five acres with the two Lotts in Town the Settlement would be established this Fall indeed provided you would fix a Reasonable price on the Twenty acre out Lotts at the expiration of the ten years I have the promise of a Number of Adventurers sufficient to establish a permanent Settlement. I shall expect to hear from you fully and particularly on the above head—as I intend to become an Adventurer myself I conceive it must be a place of Trade at present and a future day a place of Consequence as it is the key of the Settlements on Cumberland & the Ohio above & as it lies near the mouths of several Capital Rivers also near the present Spanish Settlements. I conclude with presenting my compliments to Mrs Croghan Mr. Clarks family, Colln Anderson & his Lady Doctr James Ofallon & his Lady & my Acquaintances in generall in the neighborhood of the Falls & with subscribing myself

Yr Mst Obt Servt &c

"JNO. SAPPINGTON,

Major
William Croghan

Draper Mss. XX, vol 4 no 17.

Wm. Blount to Joseph Martin, 1783.

"Hillsborough October 26th 1783

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure to receive your favour by Capt. Bledsoc. The Gentleman whose name you mentioned as you expected I believe said several things to your Prejudice tho' I did not hear him. Had there been an Assembly I should have taken Care to have prevented if in my power anything being done against you unheard, indeed if there had been an Assembly I am very sure he could not have injured you. I am very glad to find that you have made the Purchase of the Indians of the Bent of Tennessee* and I think cheap enough the most of the goods to make the payment with were purchased in Philadelphia early in September and we have certain accounts that a vessel on board of which they were shipped sailed on the fifth of October from Philadelphia for Washington† where my

*The "Bent," or bend of Tennessee was the district within the great bend of the Tennessee River, where it swings down into the present State of Alabama, and then northward again toward the Ohio.

†i. e., the town of Washington, on Pamlico River, North Carolina. With Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond and New Orleans, that

Brother lives and at that place they must have arrived before this if the Gale of the seventh of October which was very hard has not proved fatal to both Vessel and Goods. If they are arrived at Washington as I expect they are the Payments will be made by the first day of January at farthest if they are not arrived they must be lost and the Payment cannot be made before We can again send to Philadelphia.

I am told that a dispute has arisen between the States of Georgia and South Carolina by the latter claiming a Right to back[‡] lands as far west as the Mississippi now if South Carolina has any back lands the Bent of Tennessee must be a Part of it. This dispute between the two States will in my opinion be very favourable to our Designs of obtaining the Georgia Title or the South Carolina Title and either will answer our purpose equally well for We shall surely settle the Country before the dispute can be determined and in Order to procure a Title from one or both of these States I will certainly attend both their next Assemblies and I have not the least doubt but I shall succeed.

Gen. Ruthorford has agreed to become a joint adventurer with Us in the purchase and I have this day given him an Instrument of writing interesting him as much as either of the Original Adventurers. It was good policy to do so and Gen. Caswell advised it to be done and I hope it will be quite agreeable to you and Col. Donelson. I am glad to find that Col. Severe has also joined the Company.

A number of People have here entered lands which I am sure they know lays without the limits of this State and in the Bent within the limits of our Purchase and expect to get Grants from this State[¶]. I hope Care will be taken to have the line of this State

town shared the very slight external commerce of the East Tennessee valley.

[‡]The dispute arose over the uncertainty as to the true source of the Savannah River, referred to in the charter of the colony of Georgia. Georgia claimed that that river rose upon the North Carolina boundary, while South Carolina contended for an intervening strip, twelve miles wide, reaching to the Mississippi. South Carolina ceded her claim to the United States in 1786, and Georgia had too many more important controversies on hand to vindicate her title. The twelve mile strip was afterwards incorporated in the States of Alabama and Tennessee, but it did not include all the land in the Great Bend.

[¶]i. e., North Carolina.

well known, that the Persons making surveys without the limits may not be able to plead Ignorance. It would seem to me that every person I have seen here envied us the Purchase and wished to own a part of the Bent of Tenessee I am with much esteem

Your Most Obt
Humble Servant

WM. BLOUNT

P. S. I think it will be best to admit some more Partners in Georgia or South Carolina and probably shall be obliged to do it. §

Col. Joseph Martin."

§This whole enterprise proved a failure, in spite of the efforts of Blount, Martin, Sevier, Caswell and others, who composed the company. Cheap lands and lands in plenty were demanded for the profitable use of slave labor and the plantation system. The chief moving force in the West was the belief in the rights of the people, and impatience with any policy which hindered their enjoyment of the bounties of nature. The border land where the South merges into the West, was accordingly the region where prevailed the wish for the utmost freedom and expansiveness in the distribution and settlement of the public domain. And with that border land these documents deal.

MINOR TOPICS.

The following account of Nathaniel Barnwell Yancey, one of the uncles of William L. Yancey, comes from Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary and treasurer of the South Carolina Historical society, Charleston S. C.:

"CAMDEN, SEPT. 6, 1800.

"Died, on the 2d inst. NATHANIEL BARNWELL YANCEY, aged fifteen years and eight months, son of the late James Yancey, esq., deceased. Left an orphan without patrimony, in a state of childhood, he fell into the hands of distant relations; where his treatment was sufficient to extinguish every spark of genius, virtue and emulation, in a youthful mind of ordinary texture: they were not extinguished in his. His native genius and energy of mind, at the early age of thirteen, broke the hands of treacherous protection, and sought patronage and protection among strangers, where he fondly looked forward to the period when, by a cultivation of the talents God had given him, he might become useful and estimable in society. In a short time he made a rapid progress in education, and was daily unfolding those germs of native excellence of mind, which had lain dormant. He discovered a quickness of discernment and maturity of judgement rarely visited in a youth of his age. Those qualities, added to a good temper and agreeable manners, procured him the universal love and esteem of the inhabitants of Camden; and it may be truly said, that no one in so short a time, from his own personal merits, (the best of all merits) ever acquired them in a higher degree; and as a promising meritorious youth, his loss is sincerely deplored. He hath left brothers, (one of them a midshipman on board the Constitution, with Capt. Truxton, in the memorable battle with the French ship Vengeance) whose grief will be more sensibly felt.

This account of a youth, unknown to the world, and in whose life or death but few feel a concern, is given with a view to bring men to reflect, that they have nearly all been orphans, or are liable to leave orphans, and to consider what treatment they would wish their children to receive after their deaths, and to act accordingly

towards those under their care, and that they may not forget 'to remember the fatherless,' and the divine rule to 'do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.'"—*City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, S. C., Friday, September 12, 1800.

THE DRAPER COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Ph. D., University of Wisconsin.

The Draper collection of manuscripts, belonging to the Wisconsin Historical Society, is a great mass of manuscripts relating mostly to the Indian wars upon the frontiers, from New York to Georgia, with special fullness upon Kentucky and Tennessee. Dr. Draper was more of an antiquarian than a historian. He was interested chiefly in the personal exploits of the border heroes, and felt only a secondary interest in social and economic development, etc. Yet the documents include a very great amount of all sorts of historical data. The only trouble is to find it. The material is bound in volumes in sets under the names of the principal heroes in whom Draper was concerned: e. g. George Rogers Clarke, Boone, Thomas Sumter, John Cleves Symmes, Preston, Robertson, &c. There is no index and no adequate catalogue of the collection. A calendar of it is now being prepared, but the work is very, very slow. Until the calendar is completed it is almost impossible, except by chance, to find any particular document desired, or documents upon any particular subject unless the subject is one of the border warriors.

The material is of four kinds:

1. Original documents, letters, commissions, muster rolls, receipt books, diaries, &c., written to or by or about these frontier leaders or some of their satellites.
2. Copies made by Dr. Draper from other original documents which he was allowed to copy but not to beg, buy or get otherwise.
3. Letters to Dr. Draper from acquaintances or descendants of the frontier leaders, written in reply to Draper's inquiries for reminiscences of them, genealogy, &c.
4. Diaries of Dr. Draper himself, written upon his numerous

trips in search of the documents for which he had such an overmastering passion.

To gain any thorough knowledge of the Collection, you will have to spend weeks or months delving in its three or four hundred volumes.

MRS. JOHN B. GORDON IN WAR-TIME.

Mrs. Gordon was a charming creature. She was but a girl then. True, she had two children, but they were not with her, and the soldiers, beholding her tall, willowy form, her blooming youth, her gazelle eyes, lighted with love and patriotic fire, looked upon her as the bride of their beloved commander. At the outbreak of hostilities, her difficulty was not in deciding what was her husband's duty,—that was clear,—but what was her own. To the decision of that she invoked her marriage vow, and, forsaking all others, she claved unto him. The children and their nurse were placed with Captain Gordon's mother, and Mrs. Gordon accompanied him and remained with him throughout the war, as much a part of the army as any camp-follower, and often as obnoxious to the commanding officer as others of her class. This was true especially when Gordon served under Early, whose experience with ladies was exceedingly limited.

When Gordon was fighting at bloody Seven Pines; when, day after day, he charged and charged again, in the seven days' battles around Richmond, Mrs. Gordon was within sound of every cannon and volley of musketry that marked the progress of the fighting. A companion thus describes her: "The cannon was roaring around the horizon like some vast earthquake on huge, crashing wheels. She asked me to accompany her to a hill a short distance away. There she listened in silence. Pale and quiet, with clasped hands, she sat statue-like with her face toward the field of battle. Her self-control was wonderful,—only the quick-drawn sigh from the bottom of her heart revealed the depth of emotion that was struggling there."

In the autumn of 1862, the tide of battle drifted away to far-off Antietam. She followed him. Until then he had escaped harm. He had exposed himself so often and so recklessly that his men began to think he bore a charmed life. Antietam dispelled that

illusion; for there he fell pierced with five wounds. His devoted young wife was among the first to reach him; and although his chances for recovery seemed desperate, her love and care wooed him back, almost miraculously, to health.—From "Two Great Confederates," by John S. Wise, in the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* for February.

STATUARY HALL IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

Another statue for Statuary Hall of the Capitol has arrived and been put into position and draped for appropriate unveiling ceremonies to take place at some date to be determined when Congress resumes its sitting.

The new statue is a marble presentment of Francis H. Pierpont, the first Governor of West Virginia, and is the work of Franklin H. Simmons, an American sculptor living in Italy. The statue has been placed by the side of that of John E. Kenna, last in public life as a United States Senator from West Virginia.

The Pierpont statue will be the twenty-eighth placed in Statuary Hall. Each State, by act of Congress, being entitled to two statues in the hall, there are sixty-two yet to come, whenever the States not now represented shall see fit to furnish the figures. When all of the States are represented, Statuary Hall, with its present limited dimensions, will be so full of marble sculpture as to resemble the stock-room of a tombstone shop. As it is, the hall is already crowded. The last figures to be placed there were those of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Hanson, set up by authority of the State of Maryland. The next statues will probably be those of George Washington and Robert E. Lee, for which the Legislature of Virginia recently made provision.

The States that are so far represented in the hall are as below:

Connecticut—Roger Sherman and Jonathan Trumbull.

Illinois—James Shields.

Indiana—Oliver P. Morton.

Maine—William King.

Maryland—Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Hanson.

Massachusetts—Samuel Adams and John Winthrop.

Michigan—Lewis Cass.

New Hampshire—Daniel Webster and John Stark.

New Jersey—Philip Kearny and Richard Stockton.

New York—Robert Livingston and George Clinton.

Ohio—William Allen and James A. Garfield.

Pennsylvania—Robert Fulton and John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg.

Rhode Island—Roger Williams and Nathanael Greene.

Vermont—Ethan Allen and Jacob Collamer.

West Virginia—John E. Kenna and Francis H. Pierpont.

Wisconsin—Père James Marquette.

It will be seen that only sixteen of the forty-five States are represented by any statue and but eleven of these by their full quota of two. A glance at the names of the characters represented will show a remarkable variety of figures more or less historic.

Connecticut's two, Roger Sherman and Jonathan Trumbull, were both members of the Continental and First Congresses.

The single Illinois representative in this American Hall of Fame spreads himself illustriously over a great deal of ground. He represented in the Senate the three States of Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri successively and was a resident and prominent in the affairs of the States of California and Iowa. He died in Iowa at the age of 70, and it is believed that had he lived, General Shields might have represented that State also in the Senate. He was a gallant soldier in the war with Mexico and served with distinction for the union in the civil war. He is remarkable likewise as one of the first Union generals to have a clash with Stonewall Jackson and to elicit an overpowering exercise of the transcendent genius of that wonderful military hero.

Oliver P. Morton, Indiana's representative, was last in public life as a United States Senator from Indiana.

Maryland's representatives, Carroll and Hanson, were members of the first Congress as well as signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Samuel Adams and John Winthrop, representing Massachusetts, were signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Lewis Cass, for Michigan, was best known as Secretary of State under President Buchanan. He had previously been Secretary of War under President Jackson and twice served Michigan in the United States Senate.

New Hampshire is represented by a statesman and a soldier in Daniel Webster and John Stark. Webster entered Congress at the age of 41; served twice as Secretary of State, his death occurring at the age of 70, while holding the last office. Stark was one of the famous fighting brigadiers of the Revolution and lived to be 96 years of age.

New Jersey's representatives in the hall, Philip Kearny and Richard Stockton, were respectively soldier of several wars and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Stockton was also a member of the Continental Congress.

New York's pair, Robert Livingston and George Clinton, were members of the Continental Congress.

William Allen and James A. Garfield, for Ohio, contrast the figures of a great Democratic leader with that of a great Republican leader, both better known as politicians than as statesmen.

Pennsylvania, in Robert Fulton and Muhlenberg, is represented by an inventor and a statesman-soldier. Muhlenberg was an Episcopal clergyman when the Revolution began, and, joining Washington, was given command of a regiment of Germans. He was a brother of Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, who was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Ethan Allen and Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, were soldier and statesman. Collamer figured as late as during the period of the Civil war when he was a United States Senator from Vermont.

Rhode Island, in Roger Williams, has the statue of the only character historic to America prior to the Revolutionary era besides Père Marquette, which the State of Wisconsin has placed in the hall.

Of the twenty-eight whose statues are in the hall six were signers of the Declaration of Independence and eighteen were members of Congress. Only three were soldiers of the Revolution. Two served in both the Mexican and Civil wars. Four served in the Civil war only, three of them on the Union and one on the Confederate side.

The Kenna statue is that of the first Confederate soldier to be placed in the hall, but his distinction was as political leader rather than soldier, his military service being when he was but a youth. The statue of General Lee will be the second of a Confederate soldier to be placed in the hall.

It will be some months before the Washington and Lee statues will be ready to be placed. The next and twenty-ninth will be that of John J. Ingalls, the famous and brilliant Senator from Kansas, which will provide his statue for the hall and have it in place within a few weeks.

So far not a strictly Southern State is represented in this only American Hall of Fame.—R. H. Watkins in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, Dec. 26, 1903.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CAMPBELL.—In answer to inquiry of the family of Chief Justice John A. Campbell it may be of some interest to know that Archibald Campbell, the grandfather of the Chief Justice, died in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1820, and in the cemetery there his remains lie buried. Mrs. Towns, a daughter of Archibald Campbell, died in 1824, and was buried by the side of her father. A simple marble slab at the head records the names and facts of death, as a simpler one at the foot marks the bottom of the graves. (See this *Magazine*, November, 1903, p. 223.)

THE OLDEST FEMALE COLLEGE.—On page 133, this *Magazine*, September, 1903, Dr. Thomas M. Owen, the Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, challenges the statement that the Wesleyan Female College at Macon, Ga., is the oldest female college in the world. Dr. Owen claims that dates prove the oldest college in the world established for the granting of diplomas to women was the Athenæum, founded in Tuscaloosa in 1836, and that the Tuscaloosa Female College is, in fact, the logical descendant of this first college for women.

Mr. T. K. Oglesby, author of *Some Truths of History*, claims that Miss Catherine E. Brewer (Mrs. Benson), the first graduate of the Wesleyan Female College, is the first woman in the world to receive a diploma from a chartered institution.

THE ALABAMA PLAN.—Among the various methods adopted for the preservation and collection of history treasures, the *Alabama Plan* will take pre-eminence. It takes a step beyond other plans in that it has embodied a new Department of State under whose fostering care will be garnered and arranged for convenient uses all documents, publications, works of art, curios, relics, etc., connected with history, and whose productive works will add value and dignity to the history interests of (1) Alabama and her people, and (2) of the neighboring States and their people, and (3) of America and all other nations of the world. Dr. Thomas M. Owen, the originator of this *Plan*, is now the Director of the Department of Archives and History for Alabama. Mississippi has organized and established a similar department under Mr. Dunbar Rowland. Other States will likely adopt the plan, because it puts the State in charge of the history interests. No historical society can possibly assume the authority of demanding the guardianship of public documents and public assistance in securing historic treasures. The *Wisconsin Plan*, in contradistinction to the *Alabama Plan*, has done valuable work, and is the one most generally in use now. It has been very active and very broad in its efforts in history, but it is supported by contributions from the funds of the societies, and is limited in that it does not contemplate or involve the gathering and guardianship of state treasures of history. Combining the private and State interests as does the *Alabama Plan*, there is a wonderful gain to the possible service, and a richness is given to the department that surpasses in promise the best work of other historical organizations. Already Dr. Owen has secured many newspaper files, oil paintings of distinguished citizens, rare curios, battle flags, cannon, swords, pistols, documents, private letters, muster rolls, books, pamphlets, even the originals of important telegrams in political crises, and other things of great value to the cause of history, and these he has at ready command for use and pleasure. Through his services in the department have been rescued some of the most valuable documents affecting the past history of the State.

HISTORICAL NEWS.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The second annual session of the Tennessee Valley Historical Society was held on Tuesday, Jan. 12, 1904, in the City Hall, at Huntsville, Ala. The meeting convened at 10:30 o'clock. Judge R. W. Walker, the president, was present, but was called away by business engagements, and R. E. Pettus presided during the session. The roll was called and the minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted. The reports of the secretary and treasurer were read and approved.

Hon. Thomas M. Owen, of the Department of Archives and History, read an interesting paper on "Notes on the Settlement and Early History of Lawrence County." Hon. O. D. Street then followed with an excellent paper entitled "A Narrative of the Establishment by the Legislature of Georgia, in 1784, of a County in the Great Bend of the Tennessee River," which contained much valuable information on history of the early settlement of the northern portion of Alabama.

The secretary then announced the following papers by title, the finished papers to be handed in later: "Recollections of Gen. P. D. Roddey's Command, C. S. A.," by Col. Josiah Patterson, of Memphis; "Talucuh Cave in Morgan County," by Mrs. Roy Nelson, of Decatur; "Reminiscences of Madison County Prior to the Civil War," by Hon. Sutton S. Scott, of Auburn, and "Some Landmarks of Huntsville," by R. C. Brickell, of Huntsville. Mr. Owen then presented some interesting documents concerning Morgan county in 1818 for incorporation in the printed proceedings. An informal discussion of general subjects of interest was entered into, which proved exceedingly interesting, many facts being brought out.

Officers for the year were then elected as follows: Judge R. W. Walker, president; Oliver D. Street, secretary and treasurer; vice presidents: R. E. Pettus, R. C. Brickell, Jesse E. Brown, Thomas R. Roulhac, W. C. Rayburn, W. T. Sanders, W. E. Skeggs, J. C. Kumpke.

Resolutions on the death of Gen. John B. Gordon, who was an honorary member of the society and a former Alabamian, and Hon. W. I. Bullock, the vice-president of the society in Franklin county, were ordered prepared by the executive committee.

Ben P. Hunt and Bruce Armstrong, both of Huntsville, were elected to membership.

Mr. Street made a brief talk and told of the work Mr. Owen was doing in the State Department of Archives and History and urged citizens to assist him in every way possible.

The meeting then adjourned.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT AT GAINESVILLE, FLA.—The birthday of General Robert E. Lee, Jan. 19, 1904, was observed by the Kirby Smith Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, at Gainesville, Fla., by the dedication and unveiling of a Confederate monument in that place. W. L. Palmer, of Orlando, made the presentation address. The address of response was made by the Hon. Robert Bullock, who accepted the monument on behalf of the Confederate veterans.

STATE BUILDINGS AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.—The Georgia State building at the World's Fair, St. Louis, will be a reproduction of the residence of the late Gen. John B. Gordon, at Sutherland, near Atlanta. The Virginia State building will be a reproduction of "Monticello," the home of Thomas Jefferson. The Tennessee State building will be a reproduction of "The Hermitage," the home of Andrew Jackson. The Texas State building will be a two-story star, and the Mississippi State building will be a reproduction of President Davis's home at Beauvoir.

STATUE OF JOHN JASPER.—A statue of the late Rev. John Jasper, the colored preacher of "Sun do Move" fame, was unveiled Jan. 24, 1904, in the church of which Jasper was pastor at Richmond, Va. The exercises lasted nine days, and an admission fee was charged to defray the cost of the statue.

• Dr. George Frederick Mellen has contributed some very valuable historical articles to prominent magazines and newspapers. Especially interesting are his articles on "Famous Southern Editors: John M. Daniel, Thaddeus Sanford, William Winston Seaton, George Wilkins Kendall," and his "New England in the South: George Denison Prentice," which have appeared in the *Nashville Methodist Review*; "William G. Brownlow and John M. Fleming"; "Seargent S. Prentiss and His Mother"; "John Mitchell, Irish Patriot," "John Howard Payne," in the *Knoxville Sentinel*; "Thomas Jefferson and the Press," "When John Bell Became Senator," "The Bench and Bar of Tennessee," in the *Nashville Christian Advocate*; "Jackson's War on the Banks" and "Joseph G. Baldwin and the Flush Times," in the *Sewanee Review*; "New England Editors in the South" and "Thomas Jefferson and the Foreign Educator," in the *New England Magazine*. Dr. Mellen possesses in marked development the happy faculty of selecting from the mass of matter the leading facts of history and investing them with the vital coloring of the times.

BOOK NOTES AND REVIEWS.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine is publishing a series of valuable letters from Henry Laurens to his son John. In the "South Carolina Gleanings" in England, the Magazine presents a number of biographical sketches.

The Sewanee Review for January, 1904, has from the pen of Dr. W. P. Trent "The Aims and Methods of Literary Study." Dr. Trent gives outline of the growth of interest in literary studies in America and suggests how the criticism of literary productions should be made. Other prominent articles are "The Poe-Chivers Tradition Re-examined," by Alphonso G. Newcomb; "Lucretius," by R. B. Steel; "A Study of Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound,'" by Lilian Steichen, and "The Black Belt," by Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips.

In the April, 1904, number of this Review is "The British Novel in the Nineteenth Century," by the editor, Dr. John Bell Henneman; "The Novel in America," by C. Alphonso Smith; "The South During the Last Decade," by Frank T. Carlton, and "The American Primary," by Charles W. Turner.

The American Historical Review, January, 1904, contains "Ethical Values in History," by Henry Charles Lea; "The Padesta of Siena," by Ferdinand Schwill; "The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg," by William E. Lingelbach; "Naturalization in England and the American Colonies," by A. H. Carpenter, and "French Influence on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution," by Clyde Augustus Duniway. Documents, Reviews of Books, Communications on "The Early Norman Jury," Notes and News complete the contents.

The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science has for its leading article, January-February, 1904, "A Trial Bibliography of American Trade-Union Publications"; for March-April, 1904, "White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820."

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, January, 1904, has the introductory chapter on "The Site of Old James Towne, 1607-1698." A good map of "James Towne" is given. The second chapter is in the April, 1904, number, and the article will be continued in succeeding numbers.

FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC. By Arthur Howard Noll. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1903. (8vo., pp. 336; with maps and portraits.)

Professor Noll's volume is interesting, impartial and scholarly. In the space of three hundred pages he leaves on the mind of the reader a vivid picture of the slow progress through struggles and trials toward a constitutional government. The defects of the work are few and not important. He speaks of constitutional self-government as something already accomplished. He takes the term "Republic" entirely too seriously. The work of Diaz is strictly that of a benevolent despot. It is to be admitted, however, in accordance with the philosophy of hypocrisy, that the forms of constitutional self-government may in time educate the people to grasp the reality. His ascription of the incapacity of the Mexican people for self-government to Spanish misgovernment, as if they had previously possessed such a capacity, is a common error similar to that of New England writers who attribute the degradation of the negro to Southern slavery. The space devoted to details of "constitutions" and "pronunciamientos" which existed but a few days, might often be reduced with advantage. The added space could well be used to give a more adequate portrayal of the stages in development of the economic, moral and intellectual lives of the peasantry. A map showing the cities and localities referred to in the text would be helpful. The chronological summary and the index are carefully and conveniently arranged.

JOS. W. PARK.

ELEMENTS OF GEOLOGY. A text-book for colleges and for the general reader. By Joseph LeConte. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1903. (8vo., pp. 667.)

This book, which has been before the public for years, has been revised and partly rewritten by Professor Herman LeRoy Fairchild, of the University of Rochester. In addition to the work of revision Professor Fairchild has added a large number of new plates and illustrations, which bring all the charm and worth of the newest texts on the subject. These features, when added to the solid contribution of Professor LeConte to the original history, progress, composition and development of the earth, make it withal a book for the class-room equal to the best; and one that will abundantly interest and reward the general reader. As stated in the preface, some current problems and new theories are discussed in the work. This is fitting for a text of this kind. When the views of a Creator and the created undergo transformation with every passing decade, men need fresh light from the finds of every branch of geology. Professor LeConte revered all things, and, to him the world was truly the handiwork of God,—animate and inanimate nature.

Joseph LeConte, late Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of California, was born in Liberty County, Georgia, Feb-

ruary 26, 1823, and died in the Yosemite Valley, July 6, 1901, at the age of seventy-eight years. He was a man of broad scholarship. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Georgia in 1841, and his Medical degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City, in 1845. In 1850 he became a student of Agassiz at Harvard University, and received his Bachelor of Science degree a little later from that university. Soon after leaving Harvard he was elected Professor of Natural Science in Oglethorpe University in Georgia. A little later he took the chair of Geology and Natural History in the University of Georgia which he held for four years. From 1856 until the outbreak of the war he was Professor of Chemistry and Geology in the South Carolina College at Columbia. During the war he was engaged in chemical work for the Confederate government. At the close of the war he returned to the South Carolina College and remained until 1868, when he went to the University of California where he held a professorship until his death.

Professor LeConte was not only a man of intimate knowledge of scientific details, but he was a close student of evolution in all of its phases. He continued to contribute to geology and to comparative studies in natural history far into his life, and was always ready to assist his co-laborer. It was his lot to die amid his beloved mountains of that wonderland of the Yosemite, while seeking further aid from earth's stone for the enlightenment and elevation of his students.

SAMUEL T. SLATON.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF ALABAMA. By Eugene Allen Smith, Ph.D., State Geologist, and Henry McCalley. Brown Printing Company, Montgomery, 1904. (8vo., pp. 79.) *Illustrated.*

A bulletin by Dr. Eugene Allen Smith, State Geologist, giving a survey of the mineral products of the state. It contains a list of the published reports of the Alabama Geological Survey, and a map and table of the geological formations of Alabama. The section on iron gives the raw materials used in its manufacture, with the character of iron made from each ore, and the output of the state compared with others of the United States. A survey of the fields of iron, coal and limestone used in its manufacture is given.

The second chapter is devoted to a discussion of clays and cements. Among the miscellaneous ores are: Gold, copper, graphite, mica, corundum, asbestos, soapstone and lead. The bulletin closes with a section on mineral paints, polishing powder, copperas, nitre, phosphates, building stones, slates, sands, road materials, millstones, grindstones and whetstones, asphaltum, maltha, petroleum, natural gas, mineral waters and soils. It is illustrated with several half-tone cuts which add attractiveness and interest to this suggestive and helpful presentation of the subject.

IN OLD ALABAMA. Being the Chronicles of Miss Mouse, the Little Black Merchant. By Anne Hobson. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1903. (8vo., pp. 237.)

This is a book of negro dialect stories. Miss Hobson is a sister of Captain Richmond P. Hobson, and has lived her life in Greensboro, Alabama, in the midst of the Black Belt plantations. She has been thus in continuous contact with the negro folk lore, and she has made a very readable book of stories. There are, in her book, some eighty pages of "Plantation Songs."

ANTHONY WAYNE. By John R. Spears. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1903. (8vo., pp. 249.)

General Wayne participated in the battles at Three Rivers, Canada, Ticonderoga, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point, Fallen Timbers. His conspicuous dash and valuable services are faithfully and truthfully portrayed in this little volume, in a style that compels interest from the first to the last chapter.

ADMIRAL PORTER. By James Russel Soley. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1903. (8vo., pp. 497.) *Illustrations and maps.*

This is a compact, racy history of one representative of a distinguished family of naval and military heroes. Of his own generation were nine Porters who were connected with the official corps of the army and navy of the United States. His great-grandfather, Alexander Porter, was a captain in the colonial wars; his grandfather, David Porter, was in command of a sloop in the Revolutionary War, and was made sailing master on the reconstructed navy and was placed in charge of the signal station at Federal Hill, Baltimore, and sent thence to the naval station near New Orleans, La., where he died from sunstroke in a fishing boat on Lake Pontchartrain, on which he was found exhausted by George Farragut, the father of David Glasgow Farragut; he was carried to the home of Mr. Farragut and there died shortly afterwards; his son, David Porter, afterwards Commodore Porter of the war of 1812, was the distinguished commander of the *Essex* that cleared the Pacific Ocean of English whalers and privateers before being destroyed by two British men-of-war; David Dixon Porter, the scion of this long line of heroes, was early trained to the sea, and saw active service in the Mexican war and in the Civil war; was made Admiral to succeed Admiral Farragut and died in Washington on February 13, 1891, a day before the death of General W. T. Sherman. In connection with the admirable outline of the life of Admiral Porter, are valuable historical references to other great masters in the arena of American affairs. A noble tribute is paid to the services and character of Jefferson Davis, and also to Matthew F. Maury, as well as to other Southern magnates. Mr. Soley uses the term Rebellion and Rebel too freely, and sometimes is given to expressions of opinions that seem irrelevant, but he has disclosed broad views of history and fine delineations of character. His book is both interesting and instructive.

THE RED KEGGERS. By Eugene Thwing. Consolidated Retail Book-sellers, publishers, London, 1903. (8vo., pp. 429.) *Illustrated.*

This is a story of a Michigan farming and lumbering community. The first pages of the book are crowded with characters, and the mind is unable to keep names and faces well outlined with any certainty.

Later, the story narrows down to normal numbers, and the story lover is carried along with the charm and ruggedness of the rustic life, with ease and abandon.

Some scenes are overdrawn, with a touch, here and there, of the miraculous. The didactic effort of the author to present moral lessons is rather flattened by its commonplaceness. However, the interest is well sustained to the closing pages.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM TRYON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1765-1771. By Marshall DeLancey Haywood. Alfred Williams & Company, publishers, Raleigh, N. C., 1903. (4to. 223 pages, thoroughly indexed, bound in cloth, printed on heavy paper and handsomely illustrated.) Price \$2 per copy, expressage or postage prepaid.

This work is a delightful departure from the accepted method of treating historical characters who combatted the spirit of opposition to the British authorities just before the Revolutionary War. It is the expression of deliberate exclusions after laborious investigations regarding the purposes and acts of one of the most noted of the Tory governors of the times. The American people have rarely given a fair estimate of the anti-liberty men of the period, making the victories of the Colonists overshadow the facts relating to the Tory elements. There were many causes to produce cruel retaliations on both sides of the question, but both sides should be impartially weighed in the judgment of the historian, and both accredited their just dues in the literature of the nations. This book considers the life of Governor Tryon as the exponent of a strong purpose to do duty and to protect the interest of a people committed to his guardianship. Governor Tryon believed the destinies of the people would be the better directed under the authority of the king of England than under that of the elected representatives of the people, and he devoted his energies and the civil and military powers at his command to the preservation of North Carolina as a province of the crown of England. The spirit of liberty was too strong for him to stay, and naturally his conduct and his proclamations were breeders of bitterness in the minds of the revolutionists. So great was this bitterness that injustice has been done the governor by historians, and it is refreshing to read in the pages of this work the more reasonable conditions which influenced one whose oath of office and whose associations gave a different impression than that which led to the Revolutionary War and consequent independence. Great as was the benefit to the colonies and the world by the successful conclusion of that war, it must not be overlooked that no one during the time of Governor Tryon's administration fully appreciated the issues involved and the growing power of American sentiment. Independence was not intended even in the outbreak of the war. Governor Tryon's will was to preserve order, and thus conserve the good of the province. The book is valuable in that it gives the proper historical perspective of the times.

NOTE.—In the fourth line of the Gov. Tryon review "exclusions" should be "conclusions."

THE STORY OF FRANCE. From the Earliest Times to the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte. Two volumes. By Thomas E. Watson. The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York and London, 1899. (8vo., Vol. I., pp. xv-712; Vol. II., pp. x-1076.)

Whatever may be the opinion of the reader as to the value of the historical writings of Mr. Watson, one thing is beyond question, namely, that Mr. Watson vitalizes whatever he embodies in literature. These two volumes are compact with facts and conclusions, barely mentioning the earliest tribes of wild savages whom first authentic accounts place in immense forests watered by winter-frozen rivers, but treating with much interest the growth of social, civil, military, religious and industrial conditions of the invading Celts, or Gauls. Mr. Watson takes issue with Roman historians as to the character and customs of these early invaders from the east. He describes them as better clad than were the Romans at the beginning of the seventh century before Christ, and possessed of many of the equipments of war and versed in some of the arts of peace. Their martial spirits led them into invasions of Greece, where they spoiled the temple at Delphi; into contact with Alexander the Great on the Danube, whom they declared not to fear, but whose friendship they valued; into repeated excursions into Italy until they captured and sacked the city of Rome; while their ignorance and superstition led them into many brutal practices but never into the depths of phallic worship; their want of money and lack of commercial development left them at once the prey and envy of the Romans, and their tribal feuds forbade national union and gave opportunities to the triumphs of Caesar and the downfall of their country. Mr. Watson treats correctly and philosophically the wrongs of Gauls under the sovereignty of Rome, the rebellions and the advancement of Gaulish nobles until the imperial purple was worn by Antoninus Pius, a Gaul, the wisest and best of all the emperors of Rome. The rise of ecclesiastical power, the coming of the Franks, the horrors of feudalism, the causes and the progress of the crusades, chivalry and the gradual elevation of the nobles and the oppression of the lower orders, the glory and degradation of kings and subjects, have all been so ordered by Mr. Watson that they become animate with life and instinctive with sympathies.

THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON, by the same author and same publishers, takes up the history in more definite details, and enlarges upon the motives and character of the great Corsican. Paying the highest tributes to his genius, Mr. Watson is unsparing in delineating the selfishness and wantonness of Napoleon. In both *The Story of France* and *The Life of Napoleon* there seems undue prominence of the court gossip and immoral tendencies of the men and women of the times. In fact, one is almost led to believe that evil predominated everywhere, and he is only relieved of this view of things by the evidence of higher forms of civilization evolved out of the good and bad elements in the lives of the people. The volumes are valuable in fact and form, and will repay reading.

THE AARON BURR CONSPIRACY. By Walter Flavius McCaleb. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1903. (8vo., pp. xix-377. Folded map.)

This is "a history largely from original and hitherto unused sources." It bears the spirit of the genuine historian. It deals fairly with the characters of Burr and others of his time, and probably approaches more nearly to the correct motives of Burr than has been done by any previous history. The facts are clearly stated, and the conclusions are natural and logical. Burr's designs upon Texas and Mexico, and incidentally upon Southwestern United States, and the services of his coadjutors, which have ever puzzled the public, are made to appear in clearer relief than heretofore. The author has contributed a most valuable work of history.

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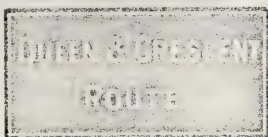
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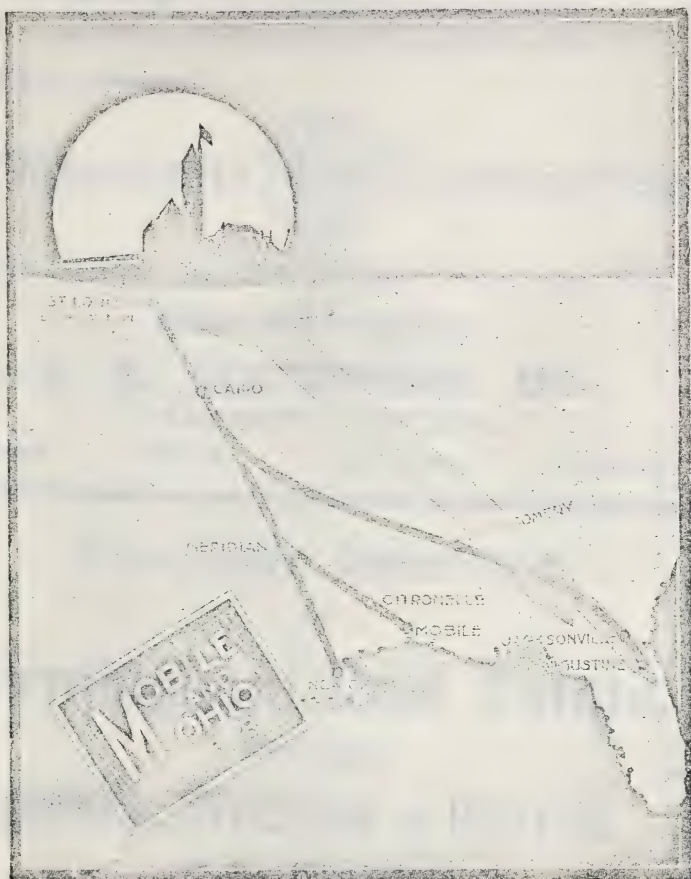
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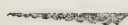


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